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# A HIŞTORY OF EGYPT

# FROM THE EARLIEST KINGS TO THE XVIth DYNASTY

BY

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### **PREFACE**

THE aim in producing the present history has been to place in the hands of students a book of reference which shall suffice for all ordinary purposes; while stating the information in such a form that any person who is likely to read such a work may grasp a general view of the course of one of the oldest civilizations of the world. A history that merely states the facts on the writer's authority may do well enough for the general reader; but for the student such writing is almost useless, and references are essential. In these pages every fact and every object has at least one authority stated for it, except where it rests on the author's personal observation. But it has not been needful to give more than one reference, usually the most accessible or useful, on each fact.

This work was originally based on the references in Wiedemann's Geschichte, 1884; but, so far as possible, all discoveries down to 1924 have been utilized in the present edition. Gauthier's Livre des Rois has served to point out some references, for which it is valuable; and the translations here have been checked by the great collection in Breasted's Ancient Records.

This history, however, does not aim at being a bibliography of the subject; nor has it seemed desirable to bring in theories or views which appear to have passed away, and not to need present attention. While endeavouring to notice what a student should bear in mind on each period, yet more space has been given in proportion to new facts or new theories, pro and con, than to those which will be already familiar to persons who have readworks on the subject. Similarly, in the illustrations, it has been sought to give such as are not commonly known, wherever it was suitable to do so. This system of a

complete register of every dated occurrence and object has apparently not been attempted for any other country, though it is a necessary apparatus for study and researches.

In the vexed questions of transliteration the middle course has been followed, of neither reducing names to unpronounceable skeletons or dressing them in more or less hypothetical vocalization, or still worse in Greek corruptions. The most practically useful form is a uniform value representing each sign, and about most values there is no question. The reasons for two renderings may here be given. The reed-leaf sign, though often called yod, was never so rendered in Semitic names (see Burchardt, Alt-Kanaanäischen Fremdworte). It is usually aleph, rarely ain, once vau, but never he or yod. Accordingly it is here taken as a, in accord with Greek renderings, and the majority of Coptic words. For the arm sign which is àin, the lineal descendant o is used, without implying that it is stronger than a deep velar a.

The transliteration used here is as follows:-

Before studying the details of Egyptian History, it is needful to take a general survey of the materials which exist, for a consecutive account. These are partly from records continuously handed down from the beginning of history, and passing through Greek and Mediæval writers, partly from consecutive records lost and re-discovered, partly from detached information which we can apply for historical purposes.

The document of the highest authority is the continuous Annals of the Egyptian kingdom, engraved on stone in the IVth dynasty and continued by additions during the Vth dynasty. It contained the names of the prehistoric kings, and a record of all the years of historic kings, stating for each year the principal event, the height of the Nile, and the month and day of the beginning and end of each reign. It proves that a systematic record existed from the beginning of the Ist dynasty. Unhappily only a few fragments have yet been discovered.

Other early material is reached in the Vth dynasty and onward, by the biographies of officials recounting the reigns in which they lived and acted. This detail must not be confused with records of the kings to whom they were devoted (amakh), as the devotion was often to the worship of deceased kings, as when Anpy, the chief architect in the XIIth, was devoted to Sneferu of the IIIrd

dynasty.

The next great continuous record is a list of all the kings before the XVIIIth dynasty, with the length of reign of each, and the summary of numbers of kings and years at intervals. Of this unhappily only one copy is known (the Turin Papyrus), greatly broken, and uncertain in the adjustment of some fragments. It shows that at least down to the XIXth dynasty there was a consecutive record preserved, and that such constituted part of the historic material accessible to educated Egyptians,

Of perhaps the same date are two copies of lists of kings found on temples at Abydos. These do not touch the most obscure periods, but give the consecutive names of 76 kings, from the Ist to VIIIth dynasties, the XIth, XIIth, and XVIIIth dynasties. They had doubtless been carved from a copy of the preceding work. Another, and less complete, list was in a private tomb (Thunury) at Saqqareh, and a shorter list on an altar in honour of kings (Marseille Museum). All of these are practically copies of parts of the history in the Turin papyrus.

Under Greek influences a general account of Egyptian theology, morals, and history was written by Manetho of Sebennytos under the first Ptolemy. This work has been lost, and we only have bald lists of kings and their reigns, preserved by an epitomizer, Julius Africanus, in A.D. 221,

which again has only survived in a version by Eusebius in the IVth century, and a re-editing of that by George Syncellus in the VIIIth century. Probably from this same history of Manetho come the various lists of Eratosthenes, the "Old Egyptian Chronicle," and other writers. We must always remember that all these versions of Manetho are liable to the same defects as other late Greek chronicles. Those of the Ptolemies as recorded about the Vth century are usually corrupt. Out of seven chronicles there are hardly ever less than three different statements of the length of each reign, and often four different versions. If such is the condition of a very well-known period of Greek history, what wonder if the various epitomizers of Manetho show equal corruption? That throws no more doubts on Manetho than the confusion of Ptolemaic history throws doubts on the account of the Ptolemies (A.E. 1921, 44). There is a brief account of the great periods and kings at an earlier date in-Herodotus; and when amended by replacing the original order of a roll of his history, it is a fairly correct outline. This was the basis of the account by Diodorus.

The Greek edition by Manetho has the great advantage of completion. However it has been abbreviated, or corrupted, it at least gives the skeleton outline for placing in order the partial lists of earlier times. The careful study of the fragments of the stone Annals by Borchardt (A.E. 1920, 123) leads him to the conclusion that "Manetho had really good sources, and his copyists have not altogether spoiled him." As Dr. Borchardt belongs to a party that has always decried and neglected Manetho, this conclusion is worth the more.

All of these various sources are in general agreement as to the length of time covered by the history. There is a further source of chronology which also accords with these. The cycle of 1460 years in which the calendar shifted round the seasons enables the record of any seasonal event to be a control on the chronology. The Egyptian record in Manetho and the Turin Papyrus agrees with the seasonal dating within an uncertainty of 60 years in the XIIth dynasty, and to the latest limits of the seasonal dating for the IVth and Ist dynasties. (The whole material is stated and discussed in P.H.S. 6–22.)

So far the matter is concordant, there is no irreconcilable source of information, and the earlier scholars Champollion. Böckh, Unger and Mariette all accepted the position, Bunsen and Lepsius, however, began to reject the stated history, and the arbitrary shortening has gone on in Germany until Menes is brought down almost half way to the Christian epoch. The only argument that is given is, "I cannot believe the time to be so long" (Meyer): the only detailed study to support the shortening (Weill) has many misstatements, and entirely suppresses the lengths of reigns stated by the Turin Papyrus. has been no precise statement as to how the XIIIth-XVIIth dynasties are to be compressed: Meyer evades this part of the question. In short, the whole of recorded Egyptian history is set aside without any reasoned grounds. The evidence of the calendar is referred to a whole cycle—1460 years—later.

There is yet a third treatment, mainly favoured in France and England, which proceeds by setting aside the recorded history and also the calendar cycle, and taking

whatever seems agreeable to an author at the time.

All of these departures from the history accepted by the Egyptians do not venture to contradict the record and names of the kings, but assume that various contemporary lines of kings were all recorded in series, but really reigned at one time. Were the recorded dynasties contemporary? Certainly there were contemporary kings in the disturbed periods, but did the official history ever take account of an illegitimate line of rulers as well as a legitimate line? Where we can test the question it is always clear that there is no overlap in the record. XIth dynasty, it is agreed, reigned much over a century, yet Manetho only states 43 years, because he did not reckon it until after the close of the Xth dynasty as the legitimate line. In the XIIIth dynasty there was the series of Sebekemsaf and other kings certainly contemporary with the Sebek-heteps, more civilized than they, and often occupying Thebes; yet the Turin Papyrus entirely ignores them: the historian would not include a duplicate line, however great it was. Again, at the close of the XXVth dynasty Taharqa is cut down to 8 or 18 years, though he really reigned 26 years, because the

Saite ancestors of Psamtek were reckoned as the legitimate line, and could not overlap in the reckoning. principle therefore seems clear that, where there were contemporaries, only one line was selected and others ignored, in order not to upset the continuous reckoning.

The choice lies therefore between three courses:—

(1) Accepting the concordant Egyptian record and the Sothis cycle.

(2) Refusing the Egyptian records, but taking a later

cvcle.

(3) Ignoring all records and Sothis calendar cycle as well. The differences between the extreme reckonings are over 2500 years. Though there are no synchronisms with other histories that can give decisive evidence, there is an external connexion of value. The prehistoric Egyptian civilizations, for some three thousand years or so before the Ist dynasty, have flintwork precisely of the Magdalenian type of Europe, and also harpoons which are Magdalenian. It is very unlikely that these types should have been re-invented, they are probably connected pretty closely with such work in Europe. Now the latest date for the Magdalenian is 8000 or 10,000 B.C., and it is therefore far more likely that the Egyptian prehistoric was 6000-10,000 B.C. than that it was 3000-4000 B.C. Thus the acceptance of the Egyptian record is strongly reinforced by the general scale of dating in other lands.

Though the dating here has uncertainties, yet it is stated to the nearest year on a uniform system, for the sake of noting short intervals, as in family histories. historical bearing of genealogies is most valuable, as they give absolute limits to the periods involved, by the distance of generations and length of lives. The chain of descent in a dynasty, such as the XIth, shows how far the presumed dates are compatible with the probable limits of

age.

When we look at the small amount of ground that has been exhaustively searched, and the immense destruction in the past, it is surprising that we have recovered the actual remains of more than half the kings that are recorded, however obscure or ephemeral, and that the reigns thus known at first hand cover three-quarters of the total

extent of the history.

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| Ш       | Тне  | Four  | тн І | )YNA  | STY   |      |        |      |       |    | 54        |
| IV      | Тне  | FIFTE | DY   | NAST  | Y     |      | •      |      |       |    | 79        |
| v       | Тне  | Sixth | Dy   | NAST  | Y     | •    |        |      |       |    | 99        |
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## ABBREVIATIONS EMPLOYED

| A                   |   | Anthropologie (Journal).                    |
|---------------------|---|---|
| A.A                 |   | Amélineau Fouilles d'Abydos.                |
| A.A.L               |   | Annals of Archæology, Liverpool.            |
| A.B                 | - | Arundale and Bonomi.                        |
| A.C.W               | • | Ayrton, Currelly, Weigall, Abydos iii.      |
| A.E                 |   | Ancient Egypt (Journal).                    |
| A.I.B               | • | Aeg. Inschriften, Berlin.                   |
| A.I.C.R.            | • | Acad. Inscr. Comptes Rendus.                |
| A.R                 | : | Archæological Report, E.E. Fund.            |
| A C                 |   | Annales du Service, Cairo.                  |
|                     | • | Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.                   |
| Ash. M<br>A.S.N., i | • | Archæol. Survey, Nubia, 1907–8.             |
| A.S.N., ii.         |   |   |
|                     | • | ***************************************     |
| A.S.N., iii.        | • | 7. 7. 1909-10.                              |
| A.Z                 | • | Zeits. Aeg. Sprache.                        |
| B.A.C               |   | Birch, Alnwick Catalogue.                   |
| B.A.G.              |   | Berlin Anthrop. Gesellschaft.               |
|                     | • | Borchardt, Annalen, 1917.                   |
| B.B.M               | • | Belmore tablets, British Museum.            |
| B.C                 | • | Berlin Museum Catalogue.                    |
| D.D                 | • | Bissing, Bruckmann, Denkmäler.              |
| B.F.A               | • | Brugsch Fest-Kalendar Apollinopolis.        |
| B.F.A.M.            |   | Boston Fine Arts Museum.                    |
| B.F.G               | • | Bissing, Fayencegefässe.                    |
| B.G                 |   | Brugsch, Dict. Géographique                 |
| B.G.C               |   | Budge, Guide Egypt. Collections.            |
| B.G.M.              |   | Benson and Gourlay, Temple of Mut.          |
| B.G.N.              |   | Borchardt, Grabdenk. Neuserra.              |
| B.G.S               |   | Budge, Guide to Sculpture.                  |
| B.H                 |   | Brugsch, History of Egypt.                  |
| B.I                 |   | Berlin Inschriften.                         |
| B.L.R.              |   | Brugsch, Livre des Rois.                    |
| B.L.T               |   | Brunton, Lahun I, Treasure.                 |
|                     |   | British Museum.                             |
| B.M.M               |   | 73 11 11 35 1 35 1 35 37 37 1               |
| B.MR                |   |   |
| B. Nef.             |   | T) 1 1/ 27 / 1                              |
| B.P.H.              | · | Burchardt-Pieper, Handbuch der Konigsnamen. |
| B.R                 |   | Brugsch, Recueil.                           |
|                     | - |   |

| 4.                        | EDDREVIATIONS EMPLOTED   |
|---------------------------|--|
| B.S                       | Borchardt, Sahura.   |
| D & C                     | statusa Caina Cat  |
| TO C T                    | Reposed Sieben Jahre Hungaren de   |
| nct                       | Brugsch, Sieben Jahre Hungersnoth  |
|                           | Boeser, Aeg. Sammlung, Leyden.   |
| B.S.V.                    | Bissing, Stone Vases, Cairo Cat.   |
| B.T B.X                   |  |
| B.X                       | Burton, Excerpta.  |
| C.A.E                     | Capart, Art Egyptien.  |
| C.E.                      | Chabas, Mélanges Egn.  |
| ( . IVI                   |  |
| C.M.H.<br>C.M.I<br>C. Mus | Couyat-Montet, Hammamat.   |
| C.M.I                     | Cat. Mons. et Inscr., De Morgaq.   |
| C. Mus                    |  |
| C.N                       |  |
| C.O.E                     |  |
| C.R                       |  |
| C.V.O                     |  |
| D.D                       |  |
| D.E.                      | T  |
| D.E                       | Davida Deir al Cabrani   |
| D.G                       | Davies, Deir el Gebrawi.   |
| D.P                       | ,, Ptah-hetep.<br>,, Sheykh Said.  |
| D'2' ' '                  | ,, Sneykh Said.  |
| D.S.D                     | n ' m ' ( ) ( )  |
| D.T.A                     | Davies, Tomb of Anteroger.   |
| E. Coll                   |  |
| E.G                       |  |
| D.G                       | Evans, Knossos.  |
| En. G                     | Engelbach, Ghurob. Engelbach, Riqqeh and Memphis VI.   |
| E.R.M                     | Engelbach, Riggeh and Memphis VI.  |
| E.S.B                     |  |
| F.A.B                     | Bull. Fine Arts Mus., Boston.  |
| F.C F.H                   | Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.   |
| F.H                       | - a mil TT i i   |
| F. Mus                    | Florence Museum.   |
| FP Coll                   | Flinders Petrie Collection, Univ. Coll.  |
|                           | Fraser, Scarabs.   |
| F.S G.A                   |  |
| G.A                       | Garstang, Arabah Burial Customs.   |
| G.B.C                     | Grant Collection.  |
| CEC                       | Grant Collection.  |
| G.E.C                     | Golenischen, Ermitage Cat.   |
| G.H                       | Hammamat.  |
| G.J.L                     | Gauthier—Jequier, Lisht.   |
| G.K                       | Griffith, Kahun Papyri.  |
| G.M                       | Garstang, Mahasna.   |
| G.P.C.                    | Garrett Pier Collection.   |
| G.P.H                     | Golenischeff, Pap. Hier. de l'Ermitage.  |
| G.P.S                     | Gardiner—Peet, Sinai.  |
| G.S                       | Griffith, Siut.  |
| G. Sc                     | Golenischeff Scarabs (photographs).  |
| G.S.S.                    | "Burial Customs. Grant Collection. Golenischeff, Ermitage Cat. "Hammamat. Gauthier—Jequier, Lisht. Griffith, Kahun Papyri. Garstang, Mahasna. Garrett Pier Collection. Golenischeff, Pap. Hier. de l'Ermitage. Gardiner—Peet, Sinai. Griffith, Siut. Golenischeff Scarabs (photographs). Gardiner, Story of Sinuhe. Garstang, Third Dynasty. Hilton Price Collection, Catalogue. |
| G.T.D.                    | Garstang, Third Dynasty.   |
| H. Coll. or Cat           | Hilton Price Collection, Catalogue.  |
| Juli 51 Cat.              | TITTO COTTONION CONTRACTOR   |

### xiv ABBREVIATIONS EMPLOYED

```
H.C.S. .
                 Hall, Catalogue of Scarabs.
H.G.C.
                 Holscher, Grabdenk. Chephren.
                 Journal Anthropological Institute.
J.A.I. .

Journal of Egyptian Archæology.
Jay Gould Collection.
Lepsius, Auswahl.

J.E.A. .
I.G. .
Ľ.A.
Lb. D.
            . Lieblein, Dictionnaire de Noms.
              . Lanzone, Cat. Turin. Lepsius, Denkmäler.
L. Cat. T..
L.D. . .
L.D.E. .
                                      Ergänzugsband.
                               ,,
L.D.T.
                                      Text.
                               ,,
              Loftie, Essay on Scarabs.
Lepsius, Königsbuch.
L.E.S. .
L.K. .
                     " Letters.
L.I.
              Leemans, Monuments . . . Leyden.
L.L. . . L.M.L. .
             . Lange-Schäfer, Grabdenk. Mittleren Reichs.
L.M.R..
L.S.A. . .
              . Lacau, Sarcophages Antérieurs.
L.S.K. . .
             Legrain, Statues of Karnak.Mariette, Abydos Cat.
M.A. . .
M.A. ii. .
              . MacIver—Mace, Amrah und Abydos.
                                     ,, ii.
M.A.A.. .
M.A.E..
                 Max Müller, Asien und Europa.
Mac. Coll.
                 MacGregor Collection.
M.Λ.F. .

Mission Archéol. Française.
Moller, Aeg. Goldschmidarbeiten.
De Morgan, Age de la Pierre.

M.A.G.
M.A.P. .
M.C. . .
            . Meyer, Chronologie.
M. Coll. . . Murch Collection (New York).
M.D. . . Monuments Divers.
M.E. . . . M.E.P. .

Musée Egyptien.
De Morgan, Ethnographie Prehistorique, 1897.

              . De Morgan, Fouilles à Dahchour.
M.F.D. .
              Meyer, Geschichte.MacGregor Collecti
M.G. .
M.G. Coll.
                 MacGregor Collection.
M.I. . . . M.K. . . . . M.M. . . .
              . De Morgan, Cat. Mon. et Inscriptions.
               Mariette, Karnak.
                           Mastabas.
M.P.B.
                         Papyrus, Boulaq.
M.P.
                 Moller Palaeographie.
Ms. A.
                 Maspero, L'Archéologie Egyptienne.
Ms. C. .
                          Contes Populaires.
                     ,,
Ms. D. .
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Ms. M. .
                           Dawn of Civilisation.
                     ,,
                         Guide au Musée de Boulaq.
                    ..
                    ,, Mélanges.
,, Passing of the Empires.
Ms. P.E. .
M.S.M.
             . Murray, Saqqara Mastabas.
                 Musée Egyptien.
Mus. E. .
M.W.A. .
               MacIver-Woolley, Areika.
M.W.B. .
                                     Buhen.
My. E.. .
                 Murray, Handbook for Egypt.
Naville, Ahnas.
                 Newberry, Amherst Papyri.
```

| N.B          |   | Naville, Bubastis.   |
|--------------|---|--|
| N. Bh.       | : | Newberry, Beni Hasan.  |
| N. Br        |   | Bersheh.   |
| DT 12        | • | Naville, XIth dyn. temple Deir-el-Bahri.                                       |
|              | • |  |
| N.G.         | • | ,, Goshen.   |
| N.S.C        | • | Newberry, Scarabs, Cairo Cat.  |
|              |   | " Scarabs (Constable).   |
| N.Y          | • | New York, Met. Mus. Art.   |
| P. Ab        |   | Petrie, Abydos, iii.   |
| Pal          |   | Palin, Scarabs.  |
| P. Am.       |   | Petrie, Amulets.   |
| D 0 4        |   | Peet, Cemeteries of Abydos, iiii.  |
| P.C.M        |   | Paris, Cabinet des Medailles.  |
| P.D          | • |  |
| 1) I) D      | • | Petrie, Denderah.  |
| P.D.P        | • | ,, Diospolis Parva.  |
| P. Ds        | • | ,, Deshasheh.  |
| P.E          |   | , Ehnasya.   |
| P.E.I        |   | " Egypt and Israel.  |
| P.E.T        |   | " Egyptian Tales.  |
| P.G.R        |   | , Gizeh and Rifeh.   |
| P.H          |   | ,, Hawara.   |
| P.H.A.       |   | Holiopolia and Kafe Amman  |
| TOTET        |   | Tipleans and Tunnelita Citien  |
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| P.H.S        | • | ,, Historical Studies.   |
| P.I          | • | ,, Illahun.  |
|              | • | Piehl, Inscriptions.   |
| ·P.K         | • | Petrie, Kahun.   |
| P. Kop       | • | " Koptos.  |
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| P.L. ii      |   | " Lahun ii.  |
| P. Lab       |   | Laburinth  |
| P.M          | · | Medum  |
| P.M. ivi     | • | Mamahia i si   |
| TO BE BE     |   | ,, Memphis 1VI.  |
|              | • | Meydum and Memphis.  |
| P. Mus       | • | Paris, Louvre Museum.  |
| P.N          | • | Petrie, Nebeshch (in Tanis ii).  |
| P.N.B        | • | " Naqada and Ballas.   |
| P.P          |   | " Pyramids of Gizeh.   |
| P.P.A        |   | ,, Palace of Apries.   |
| Pell. P      |   | Pellegrini, Palermo Stone.   |
| P.Q          |   | Petrie, Ourneh.  |
| P.Ř<br>P.R.C |   | Petrie, Qurneh. Pierret, Recueil Ins. Louvre. Petrie, Religion and Conscience. |
| PRC          |   | Petrie Religion and Conscience   |
|              | • |  |
| P.R.T        |   |  |
| P.S          | • | ., Season in Egypt, 1887.  |
| P. Sc        | • | ,, Historical Scarabs.   |
|              | • | ,, Scarabs and Cylinders.  |
| P. Sin.      | • | ., Sinai.  |
| P.T. iii.    | • | " Tanis i.–ii,   |
| P. Tar. ii   | i | " Tarkhan iii.   |
| .P.T.W       |   | ., Tools and Weapons.  |
| -            | Ċ | Prisse, Monuments.   |
|              | • |  |

### xvi ABBREVIATIONS EMPLOYED

| P.U                        |   |   | Petrie, Unpublished.   |
|----------------------------|---|---|--|
| Q.H                        |   |   | Quibell, Hierakonpolis, iii,<br>,, Tomb of Hesy.   |
| O Hes                      | · | • | Tomb of Hesy.  |
| Ö. Hes.<br>Ö.K.            | • | • | El Vah   |
| X.X                        | • | • | Domosooum  |
| Õ.R<br>Õ.S<br>R.A          | • | • |  |
| <u>у</u> .ъ                | • | • | , Saqqara (last year named).   |
| K.A                        | • | • | De Rougé, Album.   |
| R.C<br>R.E                 |   | • | Revue Critique.  |
| R.E                        |   |   | De Rougé, Études (Inscrip.).   |
| R.M                        |   |   | Reinisch, Miramar Cat.   |
| R.M.P                      |   |   | Rhind, Mathematical Papyrus.   |
| R.M.<br>R.M.P.<br>R.M.S.   |   |   | Rosellini, Mon. Storici.   |
| R.N.M                      |   |   |  |
| R.P.                       |   |   | Records of the Past.   |
| R.S.D.                     | • | • | De Rougé. Six Dynasties.   |
| R.S.D.                     | • |   | The second of th |
| Rec<br>Rev. A.             | • | • |  |
| Rev. A.                    | • | • | Revue Archéologique.   |
| S.A                        | • | • |  |
| S.B.A.                     | • | • |  |
| 3.D.A.I.                   | • | • | ,, ,, Transactions   |
| S. Cat. F                  |   | • |  |
| S.C.R.P.                   |   |   |  |
| S.G.T                      |   |   | Steindorff, Grab Tyi.  |
| S.I                        |   |   | Sharpe, Inscriptions.  |
| S.I.B                      |   |   | Schäfer, Aeg. Inschr., Berlin.   |
| Sph                        |   |   | Sphinx (Journal).  |
| S.S.A                      |   |   | Schack-Schackenborg, Amenemhat.  |
| S.S.S.                     |   |   | Spiegelberg, Sud-deutsch, Sammlung,  |
| S.T.                       | _ |   | Spiegelberg, Sud-deutsch. Sammlung.<br>Schiaparelli, Tomb Herchuf.   |
| S.T<br>T. Mus.             | • | • | Turin Museum.  |
| T D                        | • |   |  |
| T.P<br>T.T.S               | • | • | Papyrus. Tylor, Tomb Sebeknekht.   |
| 1.1.5                      | • | • |  |
| U.C.                       | • | • | University College Collection.   |
| v.s.                       | • |   | Valeriani and Segato, Atlante.   |
| W.D.R.                     |   | • | Weill, Décrets Royaux.   |
| W.F.M.E.                   | • |   | Weill, Fin du Moyen Empire.  |
| W.G                        |   | • | Wiedemann, Geschichte.   |
| W.G.A.                     |   |   | Weigall, Guide to Antiquities.   |
| W.G.S.                     |   |   | Wiedemann, Geschichte, Supplem.  |
| W.L.N.<br>W.M.C.<br>W M.H. |   |   | Weigall, Lower Nubia.  |
| W.M.C.                     |   | • | Wilkinson, Manners and Customs.  |
| W M.H.                     | - | • | Wilkinson, Materia Hieroglyphica.  |
| W.S.E.                     | • | : | Ward, Sacred Beetle.   |
| W.T.P.                     | • | - | Wilkinson, Turin Papyrus.  |
|                            | • | • | THE TOPING   |
|                            |   |   |  |

## CORRIGENDA

p. xv, add N.T.N., Northampton, Theban Necropolis.

p. 6, SERQ, name also at Turah (Junker).

- p. 7. The most recent German dating for the Ist and IInd dynasties is B.C. 4186-3642. This is omitting one cycle which is needed in the XIIIth-XVIIth dynasties; the equivalent with this is 5646-5102.
  - p. 13, l. 2 up, uasm is also read zom.

p. 19, l. 10, onz also read oz.

- p. 22, l. 13 up, for "greatest protection" read "protected grave."
- p. 29, objects of Hetep-sekhemui, add alabaster fragment with name of grave Ha-sa-ka, and establishment of Tehuti, Hammamieh.
  - p. 32, l. 3 up, for Perne mast, read Perne maot.

p. 33, l. 16, for ad read oz.

- p. 35, l. 2 up, for "the northern enemy within" read "the southern enemy" (Sa-hathor under Amenemhat II went to Haa in Nubia).
  - p. 42, l. 10, for "increase" read "growth."

p. 43, l. 1, for xxx, 4, read xxx, 87.

p. 49, l. 16, for "giving" read "given."

- p. 91, From pyramid is an alabaster vase, B.M.; Scarabs, (P.S.C. 5, 8, 4) add 5.
- p. 95, l. 2 below, nniiiiiii would easily be corrupted to

p. 103, l. 13, Scarabs (P.S.C. 6, 3, 1-2), read 1-3;

- I. 19, vase of Pepyonkhnes at Hammamieh. She is called royal mother on a vase (Kyticas).
- p. 113, l. 10 up, Mehti refers to Set as "Lord of the cast," so called on a stele in Sinai (G.P.S. 119).

p. 114, l. 2, add "Hammamieh, alabaster vase."

- p. 131, 1. 20 up, add "Stele of keeper of the palace (C. Mus. 20457)."
- p. 134, l. 12, read "Manetho states 43 years of rule, evidently after the end of the Xth dynasty, when all Egypt fell under 'the uniter,' Mentuhetep III. He also reckons 16 years of Amenemhat

I into the XIth dynasty." Continue, "There is no ground . . . ." p. 140, l. 9, read "which was read hebu."

p. 145, l. 4, read "10,000 men."

p. 153, add after Beads, "Lazuli cylinder, Carnarvon"; for the origin of a dynasty see p. 128.

p. 158, l. 15 below, for "Sycamore" read "Sycomore."

p. 161, at Bersheh read (N.Br. II, 13); at Beni Hasan read

(N. Bh. I, 25).

p. 168. The water in the building behind Sety's temple was about 15 feet lower when it was built, and cannot therefore be the well mentioned anciently.

p. 172, title of block, for "Sarbut" read "Serabit."

p. 177, l. 6 up, for (P.U.) read (P.L. ii, xxvii-xxxi). p. 187, l. 22, for "loving" read "beloved by ": l. 25, for "(even" read "for," omit ")" in 1.26; 1.28, for "He overthrew" read "overthrowing"; 1.31, for "The construction," etc., read "The verbosity of the end of this laudation is partly omitted here."

p. 212, l. 14, for kherp read sekhem.

p. 215, in xiii. 13 for FU·AB·RA read AU·AB·RA.
p. 216, l. 13, for "likely a wish 'May Ra gladden the heart,'"
read "likely an ascription 'Ra's heart is glad.'"

p. 219, "Mother.—Auhetabu," add "genealogy in A.C.W. 48." p. 223. RASA HATHER. The mother of this King is named

p. 223. RA SA HATHER. The mother of this King is named Sek-remt, "the end of weeping," a birth-name; see scarab from Hammamich. (She was only a nesut khaker or attendant, not of royal birth.)

p. 226, last line, add "A cylinder has both names (U.C.). Reign 4 y. 8 m. 29 d."

p. 245, KHEN.ZER. A plaque was found at Lisht (B.M.M. 1921 Nov.).

p. 263, NEB·KA·RA. Also a scarab from Mayana (P. Sedment, sect. 35).

## A HISTORY OF EGYPT

Vol. I.

FROM THE EARLIEST KINGS TO THE XVIth DYNASTY

### This History comprises Six Volumes:

Vol. I. Dynasties I.-XVI. By SIR FLINDERS PETRIE
Vol. II. "XVII.-XVIII. By SIR FLINDERS PETRIE
Vol. III. "XIX.-XXX. By SIR FLINDERS PETRIE
Vol. IV. Ptolemaic Egypt. By J. P. MAHAFFY

Vol. V. Roman Egypt. By J. G. Milne
Vol. VI. Arabic Egypt. By Stanley Lane Poole

## A HISTORY OF EGYPT

#### CHAPTER I

## THE KINGS TO THE END OF THE FIRST DYNASTY

DURING recent years the knowledge of the early history and prehistoric age of Egypt has so greatly increased, that it is no longer possible to treat it as an introductory outline before the account of the well-known ages. It is not intended, therefore, to attempt to deal in this volume with any of the periods that lie before the continuous written record of the historic times. A whole volume is needful to deal suitably with the earlier civilization of Egypt, the remains of which have been

described in "Prehistoric Egypt."

The statement of the earliest times that can be deemed historic, after the lists of gods and demi-gods, is in the opening of Manetho's history (as restored from Eusebius by Lepsius), where it is said that ten kings of Thinis reigned for three hundred and fifty years before Menes. Why the numbered dynasties should begin from Menes, and not from these earlier kings, is obvious when we remember that Manetho was a priest of Sebennytos in the Delta, and naturally began his history with the founder of Memphis. Moreover, the earlier edition of the history engraved by Sety I on his temple at Abydos likewise begins from Menes; probably because the papyrus records, from which it certainly was compiled, belonged to the old Memphite kingdom, which naturally began with Menes.

1-1

To suppose that the civilization that we find under Menes started full-blown at that age, or to suppose that the dynastic conquerors of Egypt had no rulers before their acquisition of the whole country, is necessarily absurd. Before a king of Thinis-Abydos (from which Menes came) could possibly proceed to establish a new capital for the lower country at Memphis, the way must have been prepared by a long series of predecessors conquering and consolidating their power. That such a course of organization occupied three or four centuries is highly probable: the Saxons took four centuries to form a united kingdom in England, and the Romans about the same length of time to acquire their dominion in Italy.

The fundamental document is the yearly list of royal Annals from the Ist to the Vth dynasties, of which six fragments are now known (probably not all from the same copy); one at Palermo (S.A.), four at Cairo (Mus. E. iii, 29), and one at University College (A.E. 1916, 119). At the head of this is a row of kings, some of Upper Egypt, others of Lower Egypt, some of both. These prove that kingdoms were already recognized, and lists of kings were at hand, to be copied in the Vth dynasty when this part of the Annals was engraved. Further, there are contemporary remains of about seven kings who are evidently before Mena, and a few more referred to in the Ist dynasty

who belong to the same age.

The condition of the country at the invasion of the dynastic people was that of a decadent civilization of the prehistoric age; the highest development of that earlier time had taken place perhaps a thousand years before, and several different races had pressed into the country as the earlier inhabitants became enfeebled. On the earliest sculptures there have been traced five different races older than the dynastic people. (1) The old aquiline race of the Libyo-Amorite type, to which belongs the bulk of the prehistoric remains. (2) A people with curly hair and plaited beards, most like a type found later in the Hittite (3) A people with pointed nose and long pigtail of hair, who probably lived in the mountains by the Red Sea, as they wore long warm robes, and bring stone vases as tribute. (4) A people with short and tilted nose, who seem to have occupied Middle Egypt. (5) A somewhat similar people, with rather longer nose and a projecting beard, who may belong to the Delta (see J.A.I. xxxi, pls. xviii-xx). Upon all these came in (6) an entirely different race, having a straight bridge to the nose, and a very vigorous and capable type of face. This race, starting from Upper Egypt, gradually dominated the country, and sealed its conquest by the founding of Memphis under Menes. Whence this dynastic race came can only be guessed from their first being established in Upper Egypt at Abydos; this points to their having entered the



Fig. 1.- Capture of towns, slate palette.

country from the Red Sea, across the desert at Koptos. To trace their origin further must be a matter of speculation, until research has opened up the history of the Red Sea region.

The conquest of Middle Egypt by the allied people of the upper country is figured in several forms on the early sculptures upon slate palettes. One of the most unmistakable is a fragment bearing seven figures of fortified towns (Fig. 1) which are being destroyed by the animals which were the ensigns of the tribes, using a hoc to pick •the walls to pieces. It seems probable that the towns of the upper row are in Middle Egypt, and those in the lower row belong to the Delta, while the conquering animals are the ensigns of the allied troops of Upper Egypt (see S.B.A. 1900, 140). Several other slate palettes have been found, nearly all of which are published in S.B.A. 1900, 125.

The details of the other monuments of the conquest, and of the cemetery of the pre-Menite capital (P.Tar.), will be shortly published in a volume on "The Rise of the Dynasties," similar to that on "Prehistoric Egypt," already issued by the British School in Egypt.

The names of these predynastic kings so far as preserved

on the Annals out of 184 entries are—

 · · · · pu
 Neheb

 Sekă
 Uăz-onz

 Khă-au
 Em-khet

 Tau
 · · ă

 Thesh
 [all of Lower Egypt].

Other kings mentioned in subsequent times are-

Kef (P.R.T. I, xix, 7). Ke urt? (P.R.T. I, xvii, 28). Ză-mer-kă-nub (P.R.T. I, xxviii, 73-4). [The name Rn (S.A. 22) is obviously Neter-en incomplete.]

The kings whose names are on contemporary objects can only be approximately put into order by the relative style of their work.

# Ка-ар **# about 5650 в.с.**

Tomb at Abydos (P.R.T. ii, 7, pls. lviii, lix). Inscriptions on vases (P. Ab. i, pls. i-iii; P.R.T. ii, xiii; P.Tar. I, xxxi, 66-7). Sealing (P.R.T. ii, xiii, 89). Queen—Ha (P. Ab. i, pl. iii).

The tomb of this king is a brick-lined pit about twenty feet long and half as wide. It had been entirely plundered anciently; but many cylinder jars of pottery remained in the sand, bearing inscriptions (Fig. 2) which give the name of the "Horus Ka," with the personal name of "king Ap." Beside these there are other similar inscriptions (Fig. 3) of "Ha, wife of the Horus Ka." In the same tomb was an impression of a small seal of Ka. From these, remains we see that the system of inscribing the royal

property, of scaling on clay with a cylinder scal, and the free use of writing, were already in course of development, leading on to the civilization which followed.



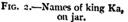




Fig. 3.—Name of queen Ha, on jar.

Seal of

## Ro about 5600 B.C.

Tomb at Abydos (P. Ab. i, 4, 5). Sealing on clay (P.R.T. ii, xiii, 96). Inscriptions on pottery (P.R.T. i, xliv, 2-9).

The tomb of this king at Abydos is a brick-lined pit about twenty-two feet long and half as wide. It contained pieces of large jars of alabaster, and many great jars of pottery, the largest of their kind. The latter bore scratched marks of the hawk on the mouth hieroglyph, reading "Horus Ro." And near this was found a piece of a scaling with the same group. From the presence of alabaster jars, and the large pottery jars, this seems to be later than the tomb of Ka.

MES occurs as a Horus name incised on pottery, according to De Morgan (M.E.P. 236, 792)

KHETM is a Horus name on a scaling (P.N.B. lxxx, 1).

HATI is a Horus name on a large jar of the royal factory (P.Tar. II, vi. 2).

SERO. This appears to be a name rather than a title, as, on a great mace from Hierakonpolis, the scorpion is preceded by the seven-leafed rosette, which is elsewhere equivalent to "king." On that mace the king is shown as inaugurating irrigation works (Q.H. xxvi, c). The scorpion appears also in relief on vases of limestone (Q.H. xvii, I; xix, I; xxxiii, I); on ivory (xii, 2); incised on alabaster bowls (xxxiv); and as separate figures of hæmatite, crystal, serpentine and glazed ware (xviii, I5, I6; xix, 5; xx, I0; xxii, 4; xxxii, 4).

TAHUTI-MER is a name written on cylinder-jars of the period of Normer (P.Tar. I, xxxi, 71; lxi, 412); this may

be connected with the next.

THAN. On an early ivory cylinder is the inscription "nesut bati, branch, Tehuti mer THAN," written with the duckling and water signs (M.S. Sayce). As it is on an ivory cylinder, certainly of early type, it cannot be placed after the earliest dynasties; and as no such name is recorded in that well-authenticated period, it seems to be

predynastic.

The position of Mena in the series of Horus names which are known from the royal tombs at Abydos has been uncertain, but it now seems clear that his is the same as Normer; first, because by detail of development he precedes Aha, and the rest of the dynastic series, and this places him therefore as Normer; second, because on a seal of Normer that name alternates with Men (P.R.T. II, xiii, 93). Similarly, a seal of Zer has TA alternately (xv, 109) for Attă, and seals of Zet have ATA alternately (P.R.T. I, xviii, 2, 3) for Ată of the Table of Abydos.

The sign men on the tablet of Aha, found in the tomb of Neithetep at Naqadeh, is not a personal name but a nebtiname; it only shows that Aha adopted the personal name

of his predecessor as his nebti name.

The whole of the names of the kings are placed in order on pp. 274-281 at the end of the vo'ume. These should be referred to when reading.

THE FIRST DYNASTY

| 1 | Manetho.   | List <b>s.</b>   | Monuments.          | YEARS. | n.c.<br>about |
|---|------------|------------------|---------------------|--------|---------------|
| 1 | •<br>Mēnēs | Mena A. T.       | Nor-mer, Men        | 62     | 5546          |
| 2 | Athōthis   | Teta A.          | Aha                 | 57     | 5484          |
| 3 | Kenkenës   | Attă A.          | Zer-Ta              | 31     | 5437          |
| 4 | Uenefēs    | Ata A.           | Zet-Ată             | 23     | 5406          |
| 5 | Usafaidos  | Hesepti A. T.    | Den-Setui           | 20     | 5383          |
| 6 | Miebidos   | Mer·ba·p A.      | Azab-Merpaba        | 26     | 5363          |
|   |            | Mer·ba·pen S. T. |                     |        | 5337          |
| 7 | Semempsēs  | Sem-en-ptah? A.  | Semerkhet<br>shemsu | 18     |               |
| 8 | Bienckhes  | Kebh A. S. T.    | Qa-Sen              | 26     | 5319          |
|   |            |                  | ~                   |        | 5293          |
| , |            |                  | Total st            | atcd   | 253           |

We now reach the beginning of the continuous detailed history. There are very possibly not more than half a dozen successive transcripts of the lists, between the compilation in the early dynasties and the copy of the history of Julius Africanus which we can handle at present, giving the abstract of the history of Manetho. In comparing the account of this dynasty thus transmitted to us, with that recoverable from the contemporary monuments, we can identify by name all the kings, in order, in the later lists of Sety and Manetho; so we have practically a verification of the oldest statements of the written history.

The monumental lists are: (r) the Table of Kings at Abydos in the temple of Sety I, which is the most complete and authentic document preserved (marked A in the dynastic table); (2) the duplicate list by Ramessu II, of which portions are in the British Museum; (3) the list in the tomb of Thunury at Saqqara (M.D. 58), now in the Cairo Museum (marked S above); (4) the papyrus of kings in Turin (marked T above), which before its partial destruction was the most valuable record known; (5) the list of Tahutmes III from Karnak, now in Bib. Nat.,

Paris, which has very little value in the order of it; (6) for the first five dynastics we have fragments of the contemporary Annals of each year; a priceless monument which showed the length of every king's reign to a single day. Unhappily the fragments are of such short portions that keen controversy has arisen as to its total length. The most complete discussion is the last by Borchardt,

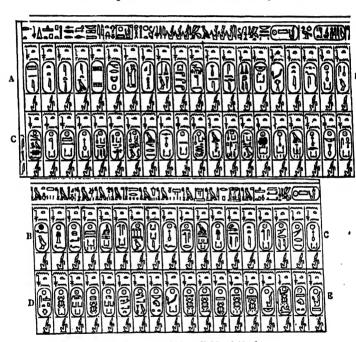


Fig. 4.—List of kings, Table of Abydos.

which in spite of some mis-statements, is yet the best study of the subject (A.E. 1920, 123). The most important piece—that at Palermo—is fully published by Dr. Schäfer, Ein Bruchstück Altägyptischer Annalen. This slab, which has been broken from a larger monument, bears first a list of the kings of Lower Egypt, as yet unknown elsewhere, next come rows of yearly entries of single events from which the years were named, forming a table of yearly

annals of each king, probably beginning with Mena. His reign ends at 6 months 7 days; the next (Zer) has 4 months 13 days before a whole year, leaving an interregnum of 1 month 10 days. The kings whose names remain are Zer, Semerkhet (Ist dyn.), Neteren (IInd dyn.), Seneferu (IIIrd dyn.), Shepseskaf, and Userkaf, in whose reign it was carved. After that Sahura and Neferkara scratched

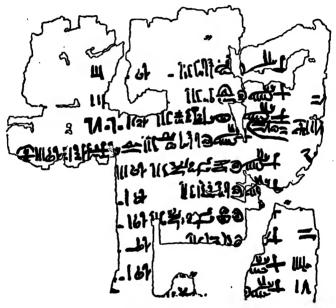


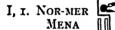
Fig. 5.—Portion of Turin papyrus. XIIIth dyn., 53-60.

their annals slightly upon the stone. Each yearly entry has the level of the high Nile placed below it, forming a regular register of the Nilometer; the levels vary from 1 to 8 cubits, an extent of variation the same as in Roman times and in the present day. The entries concerning these kings will be found noticed in their proper places. But the great value of this piece of the annals is in showing that in the Vth dynasty there was a complete record, for a thousand years before that, of the reigns to a single day,

and of the annals year by year of every king, probably from Menes onward. This shows what a solid basis there was for the dynastic lists described above, and how far more was recorded in detail than has come down to us in these royal lists.

The actual monuments of the kings in the Ist and IInd dynasties consist of the steles, vases, and sealings found in the royal tombs at Abydos; and from the relation of inscriptions on re-used vases, from the successive styles of the sealings, and from the relative position of the tombs, there can be no doubt of the order of the kings being as here stated.

#### NOR-MER





about 5546-5494 B.C.

Tarkhan, vases (P.Tar. I, ii, 1, 2, 3; xxxi, 68-9; P.Tar. II ix, 3; xx, 2).

Tomb at Abydes (P.R.T. ii, Iviii, p. 2)

Tomb at Abydos (P.R.T. ii, Iviii, p. 7). Sealings, Abydos (P.R.T. ii, xiii, 91-3).

Vases, Abydos (P.R.T. i, iv, 2; P.R.T. ii, pl. ii, 3, 6; lii, 359; M.E.P. Fig. 811).

Ebony label, Abydos (P.R.T. ii, pl. ii, 4).

Ivory label, Naqadeh (S.B.A. 1912, xxxi, 1, 2).

Slate palette, Hierakonpolis (Q.H. i, xxix; A.Z. xxxvi, 81).

Mace head, Hierakonpolis (Q.H. i, xxvi, B). Ivory cylinder, Hierakonpolis (Q.H. i, xv, 7).

From the great mace head we learn that Normer had captured 120,000 men, 400,000 oxen, and 1,422,000 goats. We thus see that already the full system of numeration was complete. On the mace is shown the king seated in sed feast dress under a canopy, raised on a platform reached by nine steps; while before him is a dance of captives, and his daughter (?) in a palanquin, Four standards of the army are borne aloft, the same as on the slate palette. Behind the king is his body servant and the leader of the ceremonics (thet), together with attendants.

On the great slate palette is a somewhat similar scene

(Fig. 7); the king, with the same officials and standards, goes in procession to a ceremony of victory over his decapitated enemies. At the base is the king as a strong bull breaking a fortress and trampling on his enemy. On the other side, the group of the king smiting his kneeling enemy appears, as in all later ages down to Roman times: the enemy is the ua she, or chief of the lake, apparently showing that Normer had conquered the Fayum. For pictures of the slate, see S.B.A. xxii, 126. Exactly similar

animals with entwined necks are on a Babylonian cylinder (P.Mus. A.S.

xi, 171)...

The tomb of Normer is probably the first of the larger tombs; it is a brick-lined pit 26 feet by 16 feet. Near it was found a large alabaster jar of the king; and in the neighbourhood were many sealings, which had doubtless been placed on the vases of offerings. Other pieces of inscribed vases are also known, an ebony label and an ivory cylinder. From the grouping it seems probable that the great deposit of objects at Hierakonpolis is of this reign.



Fig. 6.—Sealing of Nor-mer.

The general view of the civilization of this time is given by the large cemetery of Tarkhan, which seems to have been that of the temporary capital 24 miles south of Memphis; this was founded before Memphis and fell out of use during the first dynasty.

In later times Mena was venerated. His statue is carried in a procession of the kings by Ramessu II (L.D. iii, 163). There are two priests of his, Senb-f of the XXVIth dynasty (L.D. iii, 276 b), and Un-nefer of Ptolemaic age (Serapeum stele 328). Also scarabs of later times bear his name, and jewellery (Pr. M. xlvii) now in New York.

The theory of Naramsin's record of Mannu, king of Magan, referring to Mena of Egypt, has been lately revived (J.E.A. 1920, 89, 295; 1921, 80). As the vase of Naramsin is stated to be like that of No. 18,711 Cairo,

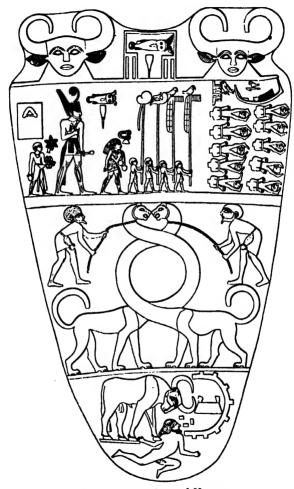


Fig. 7.—Slate palette of Nor-mer.

which is of the VIth dynasty, much more detailed study is needful. It is really like vases of the Xth dynasty (A.E. 1921, 103).

I. 2. AHA-TETA





about 5484-5437 B.C.

Nebti name, MEN.

Tomb at Abydos (P.R.T. ii, 7, 8). Ebony labels, Abydos (P.R.T. ii, pls. iii, iii A, x, xi).

Stone vases, Abydos (P.R.T. i, iv, 1; R.T. ii, iii, 5, 7; P.S.C. viii, 1, 2).

Glazed vase (P.Ab. ii, iv).

Gold bar, Abydos (P.R.T. ii, iii A, 7; Ab. i, xiii, 171).

Clay sealings, Abydos (P.R.T. ii, xiv, 97-104).

Clay sealings, Naqada (M.E.P. Figs. 522-526, 556-558).

Ivory label, Naqada (M.E.P. Fig. 549). Queen-NEIT-HETEP (P.R.T. ii, 4).

Tomb at Naqada (M.E.P. 147-202; A.Z. xxxvi, 87).

Ivory labels, Naqada (M.E.P. Figs. 551-554; A.Z. xlii, 61).

Vases, Naqada (M.E.P. Figs. 618, 677).

Ivory vase and kohl lids (P.R.T. ii, pl. ii, 11, 12; xxxii, 67).

Alabaster vase (P. Ab. i, iv, 6).

Clay sealing (M.E.P. Fig. 559).

Daughters—Bener-AB. Tomb, Abydos (P.R.T. ii, 8).

Ivory label, etc. (P.R.T. ii, iii, 1; iii A, 4, 9, 11, 12, 13; iv. 10; M.E.P. Figs. 813, 814; P. Ab. i, iv, 3).

SHET (?) (M.E.P. Figs. 550, 555).

From Neit-hetep being named after Neit the goddess of

Sais, it is supposed that she came from the Delta.

The tomb of Aha was supposed to be that at Nagada in which was found the ivory label with his name. As. however, several large labels and other objects of the same king were found at Abydos, while at Nagada the queen Neit-hetep is often named, it now appears that the Nagada tomb is that of the queen; while Aha was buried at Abydos. His tomb there is a large brick-lined pit (R.T. ii, İviii), which has had upright posts along the sides to support an inner chamber of wood. A short way in front of that is the grave of his daughter Bener-ab and another like it, with thirty-four other graves arranged in three rows; these appear to have contained the household of Aha, as no name but his was found on the scalings which remained. In the temple of Abydos was a vase with his name glazed in two colours (P.Ab. ii, iv.).

On the ebony tablet (Fig. 8) the king (?) is offering for

• the fourth time a bowl of electrum (uasm).

The ebony labels of Aha show the earliest known use of

hieroglyphs for continuous writing, and bear figures of shrines, a fort, offerings, and apparently the sacrifice of captives (R.T. ii, iii, 4, 6). The gold bar with the name of Aha is a surprising object, which is as yet quite unex-

plained (P. Ab. i, xiii, 171).

Of the queen Neit-hetep the great tomb at Naqada is fully published as regards its form (A.Z. xxxvi, 87); and many kinds of objects from it are figured (M.E.P. 147–202); it has been completely cleared by Garstang (A.Z. xlii, 61). Her name is found on the ivory labels for necklaces and also on stone vases. The necklace labels show that they were for strings of 75, 123, 123, and 164 beads respectively. The sealing found there

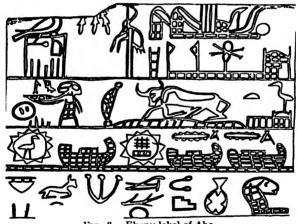


Fig. 8.—Ebony label of Aha.

appears to give her ka-name, arranged much like that of a king, but without the hawk on the building (M.E.P. 559). Three ivory toilet pieces of this queen were found at Abydos, belonging to domestics of the next reign.

The princess Bener-ab appears to have been probably a daughter of Aha. Her name occurs on ten ivory toilet objects, which probably all came from her tomb.

Another name, Shet, is found on two of the necklace

Another name, Shet, is found on two of the necklace labels in the tomb of Neit-hetep (M.E.P. 550, 555); and it seems by analogy that this is also a princess of this reign; perhaps a daughter of Neit-hetep.

### • I, 3. ZER-TA





about 5437-5406 B.C.

Nebti name, HETEP (P.R.T. ii, xxv. I).

Tomb at Abydos (P.R.T. ii, 8; pls. lx. lvi). Stele (Cairo, S.B.A. 1914, 35). Ivory tablet, Saqqara (Q.S. vi). Ivory labels (P.R.T. ii, v, 1, 2; vi A, 2). Copper tools and ivory labels, Abydos (P.U.). Ivory vessels (P.R.T. ii, v, 4, 7; v A, 4, 5). Clay sealings (P.R.T. ii, v, 17; vi A, 18; xv, 105-110), Wood, inscribed (P.R.T. ii, vi A, 4; xii, 3). Pot, engraved (P. Ab. i, xi, 1). Cylinder (S.B.A. 1898, 98). Oueen-Mer-Nesut. Abydos (P.U.).

The tomb of Zer is much larger than any of the earlier royal tombs, the wooden chamber having been about

28 feet square, and the whole pit with the offering chambers around being about 43 × 38 feet. In addition to the king's tomb there are seven rows of graves of the household around it. less deeply sunk in the ground, in all 338 graves; from these graves come more than seventy steles of private persons, nearly all women, and therefore probably of the royal harem. Pieces of the great limestone stele of the king were also found, and have been joined so as to restore nearly the whole of it, showing the detailed



Fig. 9.---Ivory label of Zer.

form of the name sign (S.B.A. 1914, 35).

The royal seal, with figures of Zer seated as king of Upper and Lower Egypt, shows the adoption of the permanent type of later ages. Another seal bears, in alternation with Zeren, the name Ta, which seems to be the personal name of the king, rendered as Atta on the Annals and in the list of Sety. An ivory label (R.T. ii, v, I; Fig. 9) suggests that Zer was active at Buto in the Delta, which is not unlikely soon after the founding of Memphis. Another label (R.T. ii, v, 2) shows a fortress named Zer-abhor, or it may be that zer has the determinative ab. as having the meaning of the man of will or determination.

A wooden label with painted inscription (R.T. ii, xii, 3) shows a palace named Qed-hotep, "making peace," like "mon repos." The small objects of this reign include the ivory cups with the name (R.T. ii, v, 7; v A, 4, 5); a piece of ivory tablet with the queen seated on the king's knee (v A, 12); a piece with the king spearing the crocodile (?) (v A, 8); two ivory lions for a game (vi, 3, 4), and

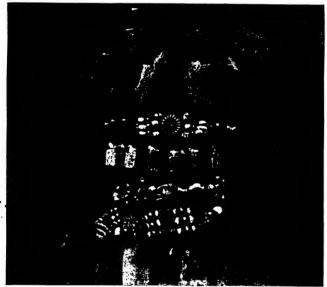
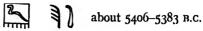


Fig. 10.-Jewellery of queen of Zer.

a multitude of small articles of interest (R.T. ii, v-vi A, xxxiv-xxxvi).

The most important discovery of this age is the jewellery found on the arm of the queen in the royal tomb; this consisted of four bracelets, all different in design, and showing mastery of gold work and soldering (R.T. ii, pl. i, and pp. 16–19). The king's mother was named Hap (B. Ann. 31). At Abydos in 1922 a draughtsman was found associated with ivory labels of Zer, marked with the name Mer-nesut, presumably a queen or daughter of Zer.

### • I, 4. ZET-ATA



Nebti name, ZESER Stone vase (P.R.T. i, iv, 3).



Tomb at Abydos (P.R.T. i, 8-10; pls. lxi-lxiv).

Stele (Cairo; M.E.P. Fig. 797).

Stone vases (P.R.T. i, iv, 4; ii, vii, 1, 2, 4).

Ivory comb, Abydos, 1922 (P.U.).

Ivory label, etc. (P.R.T. i, x, 8, 9, 10; xiii, 1-5; Ab. i, xi, 3).

Ivory label, Abydos, 1922 (P.U.). Ivory boat model (P.R.T. i, xiii, 6).

Clay scalings (P.R.T. i, xviii, 1-10; R.T. ii, xvii, 125-130; P.G.R. iii. A).

Hieratic inscription (P.R.T. i, xix, 11).

Shatt er rigal, name (P.S. xiv, 414).

Though the sign of this name is simply z in later writing.

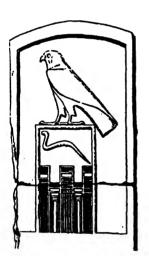


Fig. 11.—Stele of Zet.

vet in early use it appears for the word Uazet, as in the Xth nome of Upper Egypt. It may be, therefore, that this name was really Uazeti, the devotes AL



of Uazet, the Delta goddess. Perhaps the name is at Shatt er rigal (P.S xiv, 414).

The tomb of this king at Abydos consisted of a wooden chamber about 19 × 29 feet; with brick partitions for 1-2 26 75. cells of offerings around it, in a brick-lined pit 31 × 40 feet. Around the tomb on all sides were rows of graves of domestics and officials, 174 in all; from these about twenty steles have been obtained, and sixteen graves have the names painted on the walls. The royal stele is in the Cairo Museum; on it we see the usual convention of the panelled work well established (Fig. 11, C.A.E. 101).

There are no important vasc or label inscriptions; but the seals show not only the king's name Zet, but the same alternating with Ata (P.R.T. i, xviii, 2), which seems to be the name preserved in Sety's list as Ata. Other seals give the title onz mer (No. 6); and apparently another title sehez ka (Nos. 5, 6, 7). A stone cylinder seems to name this king, in Ash. Mus. (S.B.A. xx, 98). The hieratic accounts on a potsherd show that such account keeping was in full use. A statue of a priest of Atet—perhaps this same king—is in Berlin (XXVIth dyn., A.Z. xxxviii, II7).

A great mastaba in the plain at Gizeh was probably the tomb of one of the family, as sealings of Zet were found in it. The contents of the chamber were unhappily removed to Cairo Museum and never published; but the rows of servants' graves around it contained many objects, pub-

lished in P.G.R. ii-v.d.

A great tomb of Merneit, behind that of Zet, contained no sealings but those of Den. It is supposed to be that of the mother of Den, therefore queen of Zet (A.E. 1914, 148).

## MERNEIT A

Tomb, Abydos (P.R.T. i, 11; pls. lxi, lxiv, lxv). Stele (P.R.T. i, front). Stone vases (P.R.T. i, v, 1-7; R.T. ii, v, 5, 6; v a, 21). Pot mark, Abydos, 1922 (P.U.). Clay sealings (P.R.T. i, xx, 12-43; ii, xvii, 131-135). Small objects (P.R.T. ii, xxxix).

The tomb of queen Merneit is a finely built brick chamber, about  $2I \times 30$  feet; around it on all sides are chambers for offerings built into the same mass. Around that, at a short distance, is a simple line of graves of domestics, forty-two in number, from which a few steles

were obtained. This tomb is by far the most carefully built of all, both in the symmetric planning of it and the regular construction. But, curiously, it is the poorest in tomb furniture.

The vase inscriptions are all very rough, excepting one which is fairly cut. The scals are of interest; one

gives a list of nomes (No. 135) in which we can recognize the Vth, VIIth, IXth, XVth, and XVIIth of Upper Egypt; the title of oz mer often occurs; the vineyard (31), the wine-press of the eastern nomes and the western nomes (37, 38), the royal sealer of the wine (?) of Neit



Fig. 13.—Inscription of Merneit.

(39), and the wine-store of the hog (33, comp. 60). There is much more detail and development of public officials here than appears before. Though the scals all bear the name of Den, the types all differ from those in the tomb of Den, showing that the seals were entirely worn out and renewed during his reign.

I, 5. Den-Semti





殿

about 5383-5363 B.C.

Otherwise read as Udymu.

Tomb, Abydos (P.R.T. ii, 9; lxii).
Stone vases (P.R.T. i, v; R.T. ii, vii; A.Z. xxxv, 3).
Ink inscriptions (P.R.T. i, x, 1; ii, xxv, 17, 18).
Ivory and ebony labels, etc. (P.R.T. i, x, xi, xiv, xv, xvi; R.T. ii, vii, vii a; P. Ab. i, xi; A.Z. xxxv, 2, 8; M.E.P. Fig. 782).
Granite mortar (A.A. 1899, xli; S.B.A. 1899, 186).
Clay sealings (P.R.T. i, xxiv, xxv; R.T. ii, vii, xviii-xx).
Abu Roash, tombs with scalings (J.E.A. 1914, 261).

The tomb at Abydos is a great brick-lined pit about  $28 \times 50$  feet, with a stairway 78 feet long descending into it. It was paved with blocks of granite, an astonishing magnificence, as no stone building was known till three centuries later. Upon the granite stood an inner chamber of wood, leaving a clear space over three feet

wide between that and the pit side, in which offerings were deposited. This space is the equivalent of the brick partitions of Zer and Zet, and the girdle of offering chambers of Merneit. At the S. corner a chamber at a higher level



Fig. 14.—Den on a label.

18; R.T. ii, vii, 11; Ab. i, xi, 8) also give the full title nesut baty

outside of the tomb had a stairway descending to it, perhaps the tomb of a prince. Around the tomb are rows of graves on all sides, altogether 137; by these about 40 steles have been found, both of men and of women.

The correspondence of the names Den and Semti is shown on several inscriptions; the personal seal of the king (R.T. ii, vii, 5, 6) gives Semti in alternation with Den between the figures of the king; the sealing 151 shows the same connexion; and the ebony tablets (R.T. i, xv. 16,

setui. Though the stone vases are of no great importance, the ebony and ivory tablets are fuller and more numerous than those of any other reign. There are frequently duplicates, which serve in unravelling the order and grouping of the signs. these the most striking are those with figures of the king (R.T. i. xiv, 7, 9), with the king slaying the Easterner (A.Z. xxxv, 8), with



Fig. 15.—Lid of seal box.

the sed festival (R.T. i, xiv, 12), with the dancing festival (xv, 16), with "the great chiefs coming to the tomb" (xvi, 20), with the shrine of the sacred ram (R.T. ii, vii, 8), with Den fishing (vii, 11), and the beautifully engraved lid of the box for the golden seal of judgment (vii, 12).

The clay sealings show a spread of officialism in the

increase of titles. The chancellor Hemaka was the great

man of the age; his name is placed, larger than that of the king, on the ebony tablet (R.T. i, xv, 16), and is frequent on seals (R.T. i, xxv, 53, 54, 55, 56; ii, xx, 161). We find also several fortified places named Se-khent du Hor, Tep khet Hor, An khet Hor, and Un: these point to the enlargement of the frontiers and establishment of military power. There are six different seals of superintendents of the inundation.

In general the reign of Semti seems to have been the richest and most splendid of the whole dynasty. There is no detail given by Manetho, who states the name as Usafaidos, a form of Hesepti given on the table of Sety, owing to the *hesep* sign being confounded with the *set* sign in hieratic transcript. In the medical papyrus of Berlin this king is mentioned, also in the Ebers papyrus (103, 2), and chapters of the Book of the Dead are attributed to his time.

### I, 6. AZAB-MERPABA





about 5363-5337 B.C.

Tomb, Hor-ha-sa, Abydos (P.R.T. i, 12; lxi, lxv, lxvi). Stone vases (P.R.T. i, v, 9, 11, 12; vi; R.T. ii, viii A, 1, 2; Ab. i, v; M.E.P. Fig. 811; A.Z. xxxv, 2). Slate dish with figure, Ash. M. (Rev. A., 1905, i, 427). Clay scalings (P.R.T. i, xxvi, xxvii).

This tomb is the poorest in construction and in remains of all those of the Ist dy-

of all those of the Ist dynasty. The brick-lined chamber is 14×22 feet, and a smaller chamber adjoining it for offerings is 14×9 feet. The ground chamber is reached by a flight of brick steps; it was floored and roofed with wood. Around it on all sides are rows of private graves of domestics, very roughly built, sixty-four in all. Only one stele was found in the whole



Fig. 16.-Scal of Azab.

group. The vases of Azab were mainly kept back by his successor, and his name erased from them; for out

of a dozen inscribed pieces, only one was found in the

king's tomb.

The palace of the king was named *Qed-hotep*, like that of Zer (R.T. i, vi, 8); and a fortified place was named *Dua khet Hor*, like the names of the forts of Setui. This was occupied as a royal residence, as an alabaster vase is inscribed for this fort of Azab (Fig. 17); this vase was subsequently dedicated in his grave, which is named *Hor ha sa* (emblematized by a funeral stele placed on three steps), and the vase was used, probably for cedar oil, named on it



Fig. 17.—Inscription of Azab.

āsh, and determined by a bundle of logs of wood tied together. A large number of pottery jars were made for the tombs, and have the inscription ha sa on them (see forty-five examples in P.R.T. i, xlvi); these may refer to Hor ha sa of Azab, Neb ha sa of Qa (Ab. i, v), or Ra-neb-sa-ha of Ra-neb (R.T. ii, viii, 12); evidently ha sa was the common name for the royal tomb in each reign.

From the seals of Azab, it seems that the palace was known as the dwelling of

Hor-pa-ua, "Horus the chief," or "this leader Horus." For the first time we find the ka name and nesut baty name placed side by side as in later ages (seal 57, see Fig. 16). The wine store of the hog is named again (seal 60); there are several scals of an official Sab, probably the vizier (Nos. 64, 65, 66, 67); vineyards of the king are named (68), and overseers of the inundation (67, 69).

The queen seems to have had the name of Tarset, as such was the mother of Semerkhet (Mus. E. iii, 42).

### I, 7. SEMERKHET-SHEMSU



K

about 5337-5319 B.C.

Sinai, rock tablet (P. Sin. Fig. 47; G.P.S. 1).
Tomb, Abydos (P.R.T. i, 13; lxvi, lxvii).
Stele (M.E.P. Fig. 780).
Ivory labels (P.R.T. i, xii, 1; xvii, 26; R.T. ii, viii, 5; Ab. i, xi, 9).
Stone vases (P.R.T. i, vii; A.Z. xxxv, 3).
Clay sealings (P.R.T. i, xxviii).
Inscribed pottery jars (P.R.T. i, xliv, 10-102).

There is some uncertainty as to the reading of both the names of this king. Though Semerkhet is far preferable in sense, yet it is written in most cases mer s. The personal name is shown by a standing figure holding a stick; this was made by Sety into a figure of Ptah, and it was conjectured that this read sem en ptah, "the image, or manifestation, of Ptah," yielding the form Semempses in Manetho. From the original figure it seems more likely to be a follower, Shemsu, which might originate the form Semempses.

In Sinai, at Wady Maghara, 400 feet above the valley, is a large rock tablet with three figures of the king admirably

cut. He is smiting a Bedawi (P. Sin. 41-43).

The tomb at Abydos is 25×44 feet, with a sloping passage down into it; the floor was covered with wooden beams fitted in a framing, probably belonging to a wooden chamber which stood free in the pit. Close around the pit are two rows of graves, about seventy-two in all, from which come over a dozen steles. The large royal stele of hard black quartzose stone is now in Cairo Museum.

The few stone vases inscribed show nothing of importance, except a sed heb festival, which occurs before under Setui. But the seals show more; the palace was named from "This Horus, Nebti Shemsu"; one small seal was for sealing "mouth wash for the royal house," probably natron; other seals are for the wine. A fort named Horzeser-nub is mentioned.

From Manetho it seems that the dynasty was weakening, as it is said that there were many villanies and much corruption, the State apparently falling into anarchy.

1, 8. QA-SEN





about 5319-5293 B.C.

Tomb, Abydos (P.R.T. i, 14; lx, lxvi, lxvii).

Steles (P. Ab. i, v; M.E.P. Fig. 779).

Ivory labels (P.R.T. i, xi, 12; xii, 2; xvii, 28, 29; R.T. ii, viii, 1-4; P. Ab. i, xi, 10, 11).

Wooden cylinder (P.R.T. ii, xiii, 5).

Stone vascs (P.R.T. i, viii, ix; R.T. ii, viii, 6, 7; viii A, 4, 5; Ab. i, v, 2; M.E.P. Fig. 812; A.Z. xxxv, 5).

Sealings (P.R.T. i, xxix, 78-86).

The tomb at Abydos differs from those before it in having large chambers for offerings, two opening from off the entrance stairway on either hand. The wooden chamber was 17×34 feet (exactly the size of the tomb of Khufu, 10×20 cubits), and fitted closely into the brick-lined pit. Around it were fourteen chambers of offerings, and twenty-four graves of domestics, from which come perhaps a dozen steles.

The great steles of the king were on the east side of the tomb, on the upper level; and near one of them was a large quantity of alabaster offering bowls, and one diorite bowl inscribed for the "sem priest of the temple of king Qa." Some doubt exists whether the name should be read Qaā or Qadu, according as the arm is read ā or du. The second name of the king, Sen, is written with the spearhead sen, the complement n, and the determinative of a nose (R.T. ii, xii, 6; Ab. i, xi, II), showing the meaning to be "to breathe" or smell. The deep form of the sign sen was quite unknown in later times; and, with the wavy n beneath it, it was mistaken for the vase qebh and water sign, and thus started the misreading Qebh of the lists in the XIXth dynasty.

The ivory labels name apparently four high officials; the tep ha or first peer, who was named Khet-sha in the last reign, and Ga (?)aha, and Kehennu, here; the royal constructor, who was named Henuka in the last reign and this, and Nefer later on; the follower of the king named Sha; and the doer of things, or master of ceremonies, Sap (?).

An ivory gaming reed with a figure of a captive is a striking piece of work, showing the Libyan type (Fig. 18). The stone vases with inscriptions are numerous, and

some bear interesting details. The sed festival occurs (R.T. i, viii, 6, 7); the palace was named hat Hor-pa-na, "the house of this princely Horus" (R.T. i, ix, 1); and on the same bowl is the dedication for the tomb Sa-neb-ha (or Sa-ha-neb, as it is named on the next bowl). Others show a boat (R.T. i, viii, 9; ii, viii, 6), probably meaning that the bowls belonged to the royal boat. Two bowls belonged to the sem priest of the royal shrine (R.T. i, viii, 5; ix, 12).

The seals of this reign are but few, though impressions are very common. They only name the manager of the inundation, and a fort

entitled Hor-nub-khet.

Some priests of this king are known:

IV Sem nefer (L.D. ii, 27, 29). IV-V Sckhemka (L.D. ii, 89).

-V Sekhemka (L.D. ii, 89). V Peheniuka (L.D. ii, 48).

V Kăa (M.M.D. 19, p. 230). V Mão nefer (M.M.D. 37).

Throughout this dynasty there are many uninscribed remains, stone vases, ivory and wood carving, etc., belonging to the tombs of the various kings, to which no references have been given here, as they do not bear the royal names. But all of these should be noticed in considering the civilization of the time, and they will be found in the various works quoted for reference to the inscribed materials.

The general view of the rise of the kingdom of Egypt shows the gradual advance in the use of writing, rare and discontinuous before Mena; then appearing in consecutive sentences; by the



middle of the dynasty in full use on an abundance of tablets; and at the end of the dynasty so common as to have become degraded and carelessly engraved.

In political position we see the records of the gradual conquest of the kingdom before Mena; then the establishment of Memphis, and in the next reign that of Buto; by the middle of the dynasty the conquest of the eastern border and Sinai; and at the end of the dynasty the figure of a Libyan captive.

In internal organization we see the gradual growth of a

bureaucracy; the first office is that of chamberlain under Normer and Aha; next, the manager of the inundation under Zer; the onz mer under Zet; the list of nomes, and the keeper of the wine under Merneit; the royal seal-bearer and royal architect under Den; the keeper of the royal vineyards under Azab; the leader of the peers (tep ha), and the follower of the king, under Semerkhet; the master of the ceremonies (ar khet) under Qa. The reign of Zer is that of the first fresh completion of the style, under Den is the greatest magnificence, and under Semerkhet political corruption; these are the Louis IXth, XIVth, and XVIth of that age. The history of Egypt is no longer a strange enigma to us, but stands now on the same lines as that of the development of other monarchies.

#### CHAPTER II

### THE SECOND AND THIRD DYNASTIES

THE names of the IInd dynasty vary in the different lists; and as the confusion runs through into the IIIrd dynasty, it will be best to state the sources throughout.

|   | Manetho.<br>Africanus.  | ABYDOS.<br>SETY I.   | Turin Papyrus.  | Saqqara.<br>Thunur <b>y.</b>   |
|---|---|--|---|--|
|   | II dyn.   |  |   | · ,-   |
| 1<br>2<br>3<br>4<br>5<br>6<br>7<br>8<br>9 | Boëthos<br>Kaiekhos<br>Binōthris<br>Tlas<br>Sethenēs<br>Khairēs<br>Neferkherēs<br>Sesōkhris<br>Khenerēs | Bezau<br>Ka-kau<br>Baneteren<br>Uaznes<br>Senda<br>O<br>O<br>O | (frag. 19)<br>Send<br>Neterka<br>(frag. 18)<br>Neferka-sekru<br>Hezef | Neter-bau Ka-kau Baneteru Uaznes Send O Neferkara Sekru-neferka Zefa • |
|   | III dyn.  | <b>7</b>   | Zazati  | Beby   |
| ı   | Nekherotës  | Zazay<br>Nebka   | Nebka   | (below Nebka)  |
| 2   | Tosorthros  | Zesersa  | Zesera  | Zeser  |
| 3   | Turis   | 0  | O   | 0  |
| 4   | Mesõkhris<br>Sõufis   | 0  | 0   | 0  |
| 5<br>6                                    | Tosertasis  | Teta.  | Zeserti   | Zeserteta  |
| _   | Akhēs   | Sezes  | (frag. 31)  | Nebkara (up to 1)  |
| 7<br>8<br>9                               | Sifouris<br>Kerferēs X  | Neferkara<br>Sneferu   | Huni<br>Sneferu   | Huni<br>Sneferu  |

Such are the materials, in which the following difficulties occur. In Turin papyrus Neterka cannot be No. 7, as

there is a name lost between that and frag. 18: Zescra begins with title in red, as if he were then reckoned the founder of his dynasty. The papyrus corresponds with the other lists of the XIXth dynasty in having nothing between Nos. 3 and 6. The list of Saqqara is clearly corrupt in putting Beby for Zazay. Nebka is put down at 7, out of place according to Abydos and Turin lists. The Abydos list is peculiar in having no names between Senda and Zazay; but the evidence of all the other lists proves that there were other kings. The fitting of Manetho to the monumental lists has difficulties. Khaires is probably Ra-ka, as on a cylinder; and so might be given as Neterka. Khenerës and Nekherofës are different to the monumental names. And, after Turis, the names Mesökhris and Söufis seem without any equivalents. And lastly, the name Sifouris must be Sneferu, and Kerferes might be a corruption of Neferkerës: if so, the names are transposed.

THE SECOND DYNASTY

| ١ | Manetho.    | Lists.       | Monuments.     | YEARS. | B.C. about.   |
|---|-------------|--------------|----------------|--------|---------------|
| 1 | Boēthos     | Bezau        | Hotep-sekhemui | 38     | 5293          |
| 2 | Kaickhos    | Kakau        | Ra-neb         | 39     | 5255          |
| 3 | Binothris   | Baneteren    | Neteren        | 47     | 5216          |
| 4 | Tlas        | Uaznes       | Perabsen       | 17     | 5169          |
| 5 | Sethenes    | Senda .      | Send           | 41     | 5152          |
| 6 | Khaires     | Ka-neter     | Ka-Ra          | 17     | 5111          |
| 7 | Neferkheres | Neferkara    |                | 25     | 5094          |
| 8 | Sesokhris   | Sekerneferka | Khcsekhem      | 48     | 5069          |
| 9 | Kheneres    | Hezef        | Khosekhemui    |        | .P.5021<br>28 |
|   |             | n.º          |                | 302    | 4991          |

Prof. Newberry prefers to place Sekhem-ab Per·ne·mãot as No. 4, and Per·ab·sen as 5; to take Perabsen as starting the Set rebellion named in the Myth of Horus, and to take Kho-sekhem as 6, and the subduer of that Set movement,

who then took the joint Set and Horus rule as Khosekhemui. The difficulties lie in Sekhem-ab sealings being all found with Perabsen sealings, in one tomb, with no other tomb from which they could have come. Further, if Khosekhem had so vigorously driven out Set, he would not have taken Set as equal to Horus, and called himself the reconciler. That position belongs to a successor (A.E. 1922, pt. 2).

II, i. Hetep-sekhemui, Para III about 5293-Bezau 5255 B.C.

Nebti name, HETEP (A.S. iii. 187).

Stone vases (P.R.T. ii, viii, 8, 9, 10, 11; M.E.P. Fig. 851). On figure No. 1, Cairo (M.E.P. Fig. 852). Clay scalings, Saqqara (A.S. iii, 187).

The granite kneeling figure in the Cairo Museum, with



Tig. 19.—Granite statue No. 1, Memphis.

the ka names of three kings on the shoulder, is the principal evidence for the beginning of this dynasty. That the names of Ra-neb and Neteren are in right order is proved by an erased vase (see below); and therefore this king may be accepted before them. The name "the satisfaction of the two dominions" refers to the union of different parts of the country, Horus and Set tribes, as under Khosekhemni.



statue No. 1.

The pieces of stone vases were found in the tombs of Perabsen and Khosekhemui. They mention the name of the palace, "the dwelling of the Ka of the Horus Hotepsekhemui, Akhut en neter." Another fragment (M.E.P. 851) gives the name of the tomb, Sa-ha-ka. The clay sealings found at Saqqara give the name Hetep as apparently that of the king. They suggest that the royal tomb was at Saqqara.

Of the reign of Bezau we read that there was a chasm at Bubastis, and many persons perished; as that is near the region of volcanic action, shown by the basalt beds of Abu Zabel, it is not unlikely that an earthquake, and a

great fault in the earth, might occur there.

## II, 2. RA-NEB KA-KAU about 5255-5216 B.C.

Stone vase, erased (P.R.T. ii, viii, 12). On figure No. 1, Cairo (M.E.P. Fig. 852). Clay scalings, Saqqara (A.S. iii, 188).

That Ra-neb preceded the following king is certain from the erased inscription on a bowl, which was dedicated at



Fig. 21.—Inscription of Ra-neb erased by Neteren.

his tomb. The scalings name the palace of Hor-paua, and point to the tomb being at Saqqara. In Manetho we read of Ka-kau establishing the worship of the bulls Apis at Memphis and Mnevis at Heliopolis, and the Mendesian goat. This seems to point to the IInd dynasty being more connected with the older population, and bringing

back an animal worship which was probably primitive in the country. A bowl with names of this king and the previous was found in the temple of Menkaura (C. Mus.).

### II. 3. NETER-EN = BA-NETER-EN

9,,,

about 5216-5169 B.C.

Stone vases (P.R.T. ii, viii, 12, 13). On figure No. 1, Cairo (M.E.P. Fig. 852). Sealings, Gizeh (P.G.R. 7, v E).

One bowl had belonged to Ra-neb (Fig. 21), and was taken for the "daily washing" of Neteren. The other bowl belonged to the king's travelling equipage, being marked with the boat (Fig. 22).

On the south hill of Gizeh a large tomb was found with

five different types of sealings (P.G.R. 7).

This king is mentioned on the Palermo list (S.A. 22),

where his reign must have been stated as over thirty-five years. The building of the palace in the 6th year is named; an Apis in the 8th and 14th years; and the building of the towns Shemra and Ha in the 12th year. His identity with the third in Manetho and the lists is well proved by the personal name, only differing by Ba prefixed in later times. He is recorded by Manetho to have ordained that the throne might pass in the female line. again is probably another reversion to the prehistoric system;



Fig. 22.—Vase of Neteren, inscription.

and shows the weakening of the dynastic law of the Ist dynasty, which is expressly stated to pass from father to son.

# II, 4. SEKHEM-AB, PERABSEN, UAZNES OF S152 B.C.

Tomb, Abydos (P.R.T. ii, 11; lxi). Steles (P.R.T. ii, xxxi).

Stone vases (P.R.T. i, iv, 7).

Clay sealings (P.R.T. ii, viii A, 7; xxi, 164-190; N.C.A. xi).

Abydos (A. Ab. III, ix).

The tomb at Abydos differs much from the tombs of the Ist dynasty; and as the burials of the previous three kings are unknown, we cannot trace the derivation of the details. The central chamber shows no signs of a wood floor or lining. Around it are small brick chambers for offerings; and, outside them again, a passage running around the whole tomb,  $42 \times 53$  feet outside measurement. There are no private graves of domestics around the royal tomb, as there are with all those of the Ist dynasty.

Two steles were found near the entrance at the S.W. corner of the tomb. These are long blocks of dark grey syenite, apparently almost in natural form, with one



Fig. 23.—Seal of Perabsen, Set-name.



Fig. 24.—Scal of Perabsen, Falcon-name.

flattened face, on the surface of which are inscriptions in relief, giving the Set-name Perabsen.

The position of the king is certainly after the three already noticed, and probably not long after them, as nearly all the inscriptions known of those kings were found in the tomb of Perabsen, who had kept their vases in use till his burial. He cannot be the same as Send, as there are separate priesthoods of the two kings in later time. So he is best placed as equivalent to Uaznes; but it is possible that he might be later in this dynasty. He had the peculiarity of a Set-name Perabsen, as well as a Horus-name Perne mast. No trace of the list-name Uaznes has been found.

The name Sekhem-ab has the falcon upon it in

the usual way (Fig. 24). The name Per ab sen has Set upon it (Fig. 23). There is yet a third name, Per ne maot upon seals (P.S.C. viii, 2, 4; A. Ab. III, ix, 3), and on an alabaster vase (S.B.A. 1907, 297), with Horus over it. Thus there were two forms of the personal name, the Set and Horus forms. Per ab sen and Per ne maot.

The clay sealings give many titles which are unknown earlier; and they show more precision and minuteness in workmanship, probably due to the use of stone and metal instead of wood. Among the titles is the "Southern sealer of all documents" (164); "Chief recorder of provisions under the king" (165); "Recorder of provisions, scribe" (166); "Collector (?) of lotus grain" (171); "Store house of provisions of Amu," the third nome of the Delta (174); "House of the things of Isis" (176); "Sealer of provisions, Shesh . . ." (177); the ad mer (governor) of a fortification named after "the prince's ships" (178-180); "Sealer of the transport of the north" (184); "Sealer of all vases," nenhu (185); "Scribe of the secrets" (189). Figures of the gods first appear in this reign, where Osiris and Set are both named as "beloved of Horus" (the king).

The style of workmanship, the elaboration of titles, and the divine figures, all show that a great change had passed since the rule of the Ist dynasty. A priest of Perabsen named Shera is known, see the next reign.

### II, 5. SEND about 5152-5111 B.C.

Although no contemporary remains of this king have been yet found, the tomb of Shera or Shery, a priest of Perabsen and of Send, was formerly at Saggara; portions of its sculptures are now scattered at Oxford, Florence, and Cairo. There are also two priests of Send, named Aasen and Ankef (stele at Aix, Provence, S.B.A. ix, 180). And there is also a bronze statue made in the XXVIth dynasty (Berlin).

### II, 6. KA-RA 9 about 5111-5094 B.C.



Fig. 25.-Seal of Ka-ra.

The only contemporary object which can be attributed to this king is the steatite cylinder found at El Kab (Q.K. xx, 29), which appears to bear the name Ra-ka; but as no cartouche is known at so early a date, there is some doubt about this.

## II, 7. NEFER-KA-RA 🗿 🚶 🔟 about 5094-5069 B.C.

No mention of this king occurs, except in Sety and Manetho's lists; in the latter is the legend that the Nile flowed with honey during eleven days.

### II, 8. Kho-sekhem, Seker-nefer-ka



about 5069-5021 B.C.

Seated figures, Oxford, Cairo (Q.H. i, xxxix, xl, xli).
Stone vases, Oxford, Philadelphia, Cairo (Q.H. i, xxxvi, xxxvii, xxxvii).

Stele, Cairo (Q.H. ii, lviii).

This king is only known from his monuments at Hierakonpolis, and his place in the list is uncertain. He doubtless preceded Khosekhemui, though some suppose that it is an earlier name of the same king. And he is more likely to be next to Khosekhemui than to be the same as Send, Ka-neter, or Nefer-ka-ra.

The scated figures are, one in slate, the other in hard limestone. Around the base of each figure is a row of slain enemies, and on the front is the inscription "Northern Enemies, 47, 209." At this age Egypt was fairly consolidated, and these can hardly be of the Nile valley; nor are they likely to be Sinaites, as such are not termed northern; so probably these were a body of Libyans invading the Delta, and thus enemies in the north. This would accord with troubles of a Libyan revolt recorded in the next reign but one. It is even possible that this king and the next really belong to the following dynasty, and so this

war might be that named by Manetho; but it is unlikely. The art of these figures shows a complete mastery of sculpture, the face being more delicately modelled than



Fig. 26.-Figure of Kho-sekhem.

almost any later work. The dress shows these to belong to the sed-heb festival.

The three stone vases are of alabaster, granite, and a piece of a pan of alabaster, all of large size. They all bear the same inscription: "The year of fighting the Nubian, leader in the city of Nekheb the goddess Nekheb

grasps the rebels (besh), and unites Egypt before the Horus Kho-sekhem" (Fig. 27).

The piece of a stelle shows part of a kneeling captive on a platform, which ends in the head of a foreigner with a bow



Fig. 27.—Inscription of Kho-sekhem.

The vulture goddess grasping the besh, rebels.

placed upon it. Below that is the name of Kho-sekhem, "humbling the foreign lands."

Sesokhris is stated by Manetho to have been 5 cubits and 3 palms high, which would be about 8 English feet, if the short cubit of 17.4 inches were used.

## II, 9. KHOSEKHEMUI HEZEF . . . 4991 B.C.

Tomb, Abydos (P.R.T. ii, 12-14; lxiii).
Granite gate jamb, Hierakonpolis (Q.H. i, pl. ii).
Inscribed block, Hierakonpolis (Q.H. ii, xxiii).
El Kab, granite block (A.S. vi, 239).
Diorite pieces of vases (F.P. Coll.).
Porphyry vase, Oxford (Q.H. ii, lix, 8).
Clay sealings (P.R.T. ii, xxiii, 191-218; A. Ab. III, ix).
Daughter (?), Hapenmaat (P.R.T. ii, xxiv, 210).

The place of Khosekhemui is suggested by the presence of a seal of Hapenmaat, who seems to have been the queen-mother of the IIIrd dynasty; and Khosekhemui may well be, therefore, the last king of the IInd dynasty, or possibly the first king of the IIIrd. The last king is named Khen-

eres by Manetho; and as Hezef... seems to be his personal name, Kheneres is probably his ka name. This might easily be a corruption of Khamerui, if the sekhem

sign was mistaken in later time for the chisel mer.

His tomb differs entirely from all others. It is altogether 223 feet long, and 54 feet across at the widest. It consists of three parts: at the north is a door leading to three rows of chambers, thirty-three in all, for offerings; then comes a sunken stone chamber, with three chambers on either hand above it; and then seven chambers on either hand lead out to the south door. In these chambers were stored vases of stone and of copper, tools of flint and of copper, large jars of pottery, basket-work, stores of grain, etc. The sceptre of sard and gold was found in the tomb (P.T.R. ii, 27).

The central chamber of stone is the oldest stone building known. It is over 10×17 feet, and nearly 6 feet deep, the stone faces partly natural cleavages, partly wrought by hammer and by adze. Such work would naturally precede the building of a stone palace, which is attributed by

Manetho to the second king of the next dynasty.

Beside this building at Abydos there was found a great granite jamb for the temple gateway at Hierakonpolis, with the double ka name surmounted by Horus and Set, and with the group of ankh zad uas up the side (Q.H. i, pl. ii.).

Stone vases of this reign are very seldom inscribed; one porphyry fragment from Hierakonpolis bears the single name, and one diorite fragment with the double name was

probably found at Abydos.

The clay sealings are the most important material in this reign. In every case the name is surmounted by both Set and Horus; face to face where the name is of the full form, both the same way where the shorter form is used. The shorter name Khosekhemui means "the glory, or the crown, of the two powers," and may refer either to the rule of Upper and Lower Egypt, or to Set and Horus, the gods of those divisions. The fuller name adds, "the two deities in him are at peace," or reconciled. The union, therefore, of the two tribes of Horus and Set worshippers was a special work of this king; and it may well be that it was a counterpart of the great fight with

the western invaders which had occupied his predecessor. That there had been a rivalry during this dynasty is shown by Perabsen having a Horus-name and a Set-name. Many of the scalings refer to the royal vineyards (191, 192, 193, 196, 202, 204). Some name the vineyards of the "Red house" (191), the palace of Lower Egypt. The



"Chief recorder of provisions under the king" appears, as under Perabsen (195); the "Recorder of provisions of the palace" and "the scaler of all things securely" (201); naturally, most of these scals refer to the royal provisions, as they only come from the jars of offerings deposited in the tombs. The most important seal (A.Z. xxxvi, 143) is that of "the scaler, constructor (architect) Fig. 28.—Bowl of the king-bearing mother Hapenmaat, inscription of Khosekhemui, who orders all things that are done for her (210). This title "the king-bearing mother,"

mut nesut-mes, is peculiar, and points to Hapenmaat being specially the ancestress of kings. She was adored at the close of the IIIrd dynasty, as Amten offered "a hundred loaves every day in the ka house (chapel) of the king-bearing mother Hapenmaat" (L.D. ii, 6). Hence it seems that she was probably the heiress of the IInd dynasty, through whom descended the legitimacy of the IIIrd dynasty; similar to the special honouring of Neithetep with a ka name of her own, the ancestress of the Ist dynasty, or like Aahmes Nefertari worshipped during the XVIIIth dynasty.

An entry in the Annals (S.A. 27, No. 4) is difficult to connect with the lists. It has been taken to refer to the birth of King Khosekhemui, and by Borchardt's rendering (B. Ann. bl. 3) this would be in the reign of Ka neter (II, 6), and so Khosekhemui should be Neferkara (II, 7), which is two reigns too early. Later it is proposed to see in this entry the record of making a metal statue, and therefore in the reign of Khosekhemui, which would bring him to the place of Ka neter, and so three reigns too early.

As there is no doubt as to his being at the end of the dynasty, by the Hapenmaat sealings, the matter must await further facts.

This whole dynasty shows a very different fashion to that

of the Ist dynasty in every respect, especially in the worship of Set, at last placed on exact equality with Horus. With this closes the Thinite dynasties of Abydos, and it is to Memphis that the power gravitated for some centuries to come.

THE THIRD DYNASTY

|   | Manetho.   | Lists.    | MONUMENTS.          | YEARS. | B.c. about |  |  |  |  |
|---|------------|-----------|---------------------|--------|------------|--|--|--|--|
| ı | o          | Zazay     | Sa-nekht            |        | 4991       |  |  |  |  |
| 2 | Nekherofēs | Nebka     | Nebka               | 28     | 4975       |  |  |  |  |
| 3 | Tosorthros | Zesersa   | · Ncter-khet, Zeser | 29     | 4947       |  |  |  |  |
| 4 | Turis      | О         | O                   | 7      | 4918       |  |  |  |  |
| 5 | Mesokhris  | o         | 0                   | 17     | 4911       |  |  |  |  |
|   | Soufis?    | 0         | o                   | 16?    | 4894       |  |  |  |  |
| 6 | Tosertasis | Zeserteta | 0                   | 19     |            |  |  |  |  |
| 7 | Akhēs      | Sezes     | o                   | 42     | 4875       |  |  |  |  |
| 8 | Kerferes   | Neferkara | Huni                | 30     | 4833       |  |  |  |  |
| 9 | Sifouris   | Sneferu   | Sneferu             | 26     | 4803       |  |  |  |  |
| , |            |           |                     |        | 4777       |  |  |  |  |
|   | i          | I         |                     |        | 1          |  |  |  |  |

The adjustment of the monumental lists to the IIIrd dynasty of Manetho is not well fixed. The only wellattached points are Zesersa with Tosorthros, and Zeserteta with Tosertasis. But while there are three kings between Neferkasekru and Zeser in the lists, there are but two between Sesökhris and Tosorthros in Manetho. But if. as seems likely, Sa-nekht is Zazay, then there is a king dropped from Manetho. The Armenian version gives only six kings after Zeser, and 17 years less total. Possibly Soufis is an interpolation from the next dynasty. For the present at least we may omit him, to reconcile accepting Zazay with the total number. On the other hand, Manetho places three kings between Tosorthros and Tosertasis, where the lists give no intermediate names. Again, at the close, there can be no doubt that Sneferu is Sifouris, and probably Neferkara is Kerferes, yet these are inverted in Manetho. Did we not know how well Manetho accords with the monuments where we actually have them, in the Ist dynasty, we might be tempted to abandon his text as corrupt here; but on the whole it seems safest to adjust all the statements together, as is done above.

Of the name of Zazay nothing whatever is known beyond the lists of Abydos and the Turin papyrus, with the corrupt form Beby at Saqqara. Such a name—the chief, or head-man—is very likely for the founder of a dynasty.

III, I. SA-NEKHT, about 4991—

ZAZAY? 4975 B.C.

Tomb, Beit Khallaf (G.M. pls. xvii, xviii). Clay sealings (G.M. pl. xix). Sinai, Maghara, tablets (G.P.S. 3, 4).

The identity of Sa-nekht with Nebka is suggested by his place being apparently next before Zeser, judging by the form of his tomb; and this may agree with a fragment of a scaling in his tomb perhaps ending in neb. But a fresh light is given by the enormous excavation for a pyramid with gigantic granite work at Zowyet-el-Aryan. On the blocks there the quarry marks are of a king Ra-neb-ka with cartouche Maka; as this cannot be reconciled with the name Sa-nekht, it seems that he must be different from Nebkara and be therefore before him.

The tomb of Sa-nekht at Beit Khallaf is a brick mastaba, over 200 feet long by 80 wide. It contains two descending stairways, leading to two different groups of chambers, which are cut in the gravel. The main group has a horizontal passage below, with three small stone chambers on either hand.

In the tomb were alabaster vases and copper tools; also pieces of clay sealings, from which the name Sa-nekht is read, and perhaps also a cartouche Nebka (G.M. xix, 7). The few titles that can be read are "Director of the granaries" (7); "Anubis on his shrine, the good god commanding life" (II); the names Anpuhetep and Sekhem-merymaot (II and 22, 23); and perhaps a title "the follower of the crown" (6).

Base of tomb, Zowyet-el-Aryan (A.S. vii, 257; viii, 201; xii, 57).
Abusir, fragment (B.N. 79).
Sinai, Maghara, rock tablet, Cairo (P. Sin. 43).
Scarabs (P. Sc. 2-10; P.S.C. viii, 3, 1; F.S. 6; W.S.B. I, 1; B.T. 1406).

The work at Zowyet-el-Aryan, between Gizeh and Abusir, is a gigantic square hollow, 82×46 feet, 73 feet deep, with a stairway 28 feet wide and 360 long (C.A.E. i, 2). At the base is a paving of great blocks of granite of 9 tons, surrounding one of about 45 tons. On this paving is an oval cist of granite, which had a polished cover of granite firmly cemented on to it, but empty. Much was done in clearing and moving the granite blocks, but no burial was found; the chances, however, are not yet exhausted. The quarry marks on the stones are of neb taui Ra-ncb-ka without cartouche (A.S. xii, 61), and many cartouches with two signs which can hardly be anything but Ma·ka, "like (the ancestral) ka" (A.S. vii, No. 1, 19, 20, 38, 41, 44, 47, 49, 52, 54). The great rock cutting was largely filled up with blocks, which had been brought for building and never used. It seems as if the intention was to build a large tomb, in which all the substructure of granite was a basis for the chambers. The king died before any chambers were built, so the blocks collected for the work were tumbled in over the burial, to prevent anyone reaching it. The place ought to be finally explored.

The name Neb-ka occurs on a fragment at Abusir, probably from an estate-name in later times.

At Maghara was a rock tablet, high up, with a figure of

the king, now in Cairo Museum. The type strongly suggests Sudani influence.

Some scarabs bear the name Nebka (B. Mus. and Sayce), and others Ra-neb-ka, which is the form of this king's name in the Saqqara list (B. Mus., P. Mus., H. Coll., F.P. Coll.). All of these are very simple in work, and some have an early form of the Ka sign with loops instead





Fig. 29.—Scarabs of Ra-nebka.

form of the Ka sign with loops instead of hands. They are mostly of blue or green glaze, like the early amulets

of the first dynasty. The rough pottery scarabs such as P.S.C. viii, 3, 3, seem to have been made at Lisht, where a great number have been found; their date is not

The name in Manetho, Nekherofes, might be a version of Neb-ka-ra. The statement that the Libvans revolted, but submitted again owing to an unexpected increase of the moon, is probably due to some misunderstanding of early hieroglyphs. Very possibly renp, "year," named with the moon sign of month, was mistaken for renp, "growth." Two pieces of a tomb from Abusir mention a priest of the temple of Nebka (L.D. ii, 30, a, b).

### III, 3. NETER KHET, RA-NUB. ZESER





about 4947 4918 B.C

Heliopolis, fragments (Sph. xv, 13; P.H.A. 4).

Tomb, Beit Khallaf (G.M. pls. vi, vii).

Doorway of glazed tiles, Saqqara (L.D. ii. 2 f; V.S. 37 A to D).

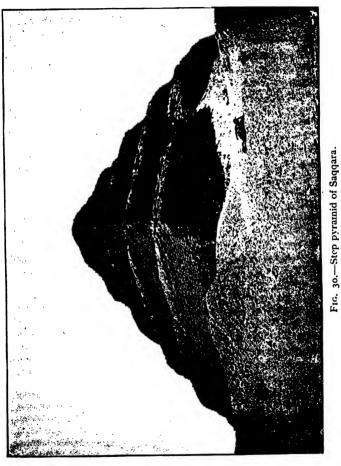
Sinai rock inscription (Rec. xvi. 104).

Scheyl, stele (late) (B.S.J.; M.I. i, 78). Clay scalings (G.M. pls. viii-x; Q. Hes. 3).

The name, or epithet, Ra nub is on the doorway, and the Serapeum stele (M. Ser. III, 28).

The tomb of Neter-khet at Beit Khallaf is a large mastaba of brick nearly 300 feet long by 150 feet wide, and over 30 feet high. Within it is a long passage descending from the top, barred by five great portcullis blocks of stone, leading to a wide horizontal passage, and a dozen chambers at the bottom, which is over 50 feet underground. A great quantity of broken stone vases, nearly all of alabaster, were found inside, but not one was inscribed; and the only identification of the builder is from the clay scalings.

Another great tomb associated with Neter-khet is the step pyramid of Saggara, two of the chambers of which were lined with glazed tiles, with an intermediate doorway of the same bearing this king's name and titles. Since the discovery of glazed wall tiles at Hierakonpolis and Abydos, it is certain that such were used even before the Ist dynasty; and there is nothing to throw doubt on the early age of this doorway, especially as no such tile work is known of the XXVIth dynasty. The writing of mao on the tiles, which has been stated to be late (A.Z. xxx, 87), belongs to the IIIrd dynasty (see Fig. 31). It is certain that Neterkhet



bestowed most splendid work on this step pyramid, far finer than that of the tomb at Beit Khallaf (V.S. 37 A to D).

Now there are various explanations of there being apparently two tombs of this king. Most likely he built

the step pyramid for his tomb, but owing to dying in Upper Egypt the mastaba was made for his actual burial; or the step pyramid may have been his tomb, and the mastaba for the queen, like the tomb of Aha at Abydos and that of Neit-hetep at Naqada; or the step pyramid may have been for the sacred Apis, who was adored then, as his worship was established by Kakau, and the queen is named Hapenmāat (or Na-maot-Hap), if so, the mastaba was the king's tomb; or two tombs may have been deliberately made for the king, as there are two pyramids of Seneferu. Perhaps a careful study of the inside of the step pyramid may clear up its history.

At Heliopolis beneath the great earth bank of the Hyksos camp there were fragments of fine sculptures of Zeser. The supposed galleries where they were found were tunnels dug by modern workmen in excavating. The fragments had been thrown on the ground, and the earth wall put

over them (Sph. xv, 13; P.H.A. 4).

At Sinai, among other early royal names, that of Neter. khet has been found (Rec. xvi, 104). And at Scheyl, at the first cataract, a rock inscription was put up in Ptolemaic times, as a pious forgery, professing to belong to Neter khet-Zeser (M.I. i, 78); thus in late times these two names were believed to belong to one king, the only other evidence now known for that being the statue at Berlin (A.Z. xxxviii, 117).

Many of the sealings belong to the vineyards of the king (G.M. ix, 4, 5, 6; x, 12); others name Kharya, a priest of Upuat (I), also called "the king's beloved, who daily adores the god Anpu of Ut, who is in the fortress of Nerutaui" (2); the scribe Nez-neteru (3 a); the scribe of the desert Ra-khuf (3 b); the scribe Hetepun (9); the scribe of Memphis, Aha-en-onkh (II); an orator Irisen (I3), and others. The frequency of scribes marks a later stage than that of the court in the earlier dynasties.

Of later reference to this king there is a statue of Senusert II adoring him (in Berlin, A.I.B. III, 144); an Apis stele of XXIInd dynasty shows his name adored (M.S. III, 28); and he is named with Teta in the tomb of Mohu at Saqqara (Rec. xxx, 45); a priest of his, Senbef, in the XXVIth dynasty (L.D. iii, 276 c); another priest Aahmes of the same age (A.Z. xxxviii, 117); a chief of workmen,

Khnum-ab-ra, of the Persian period, who begins a genealogy from the time of Zeser (L.D. iii, 275 a); and this king is also named in a tale of the Westcar papyrus. Manetho records that Tosorthros was called Asklepios for his medical skill, that he built a palace of hewn stone, and that he favoured writing. These notices well accord with the beginning of stone building in the tombs two reigns before, and the great increase of scribes shown by the sealings.

Of Turis, Mesokhris, and Soufis there is no trace in any of the lists or monuments. The names have such an echo of those of Soris, Sesokhris, and Soufis, of the dynasties before and after this, that some duplication seems likely.

Zeserteta is given in each of the lists, and in Manetho, but no monuments of his time are known; a statue of Aahmes, a priest of his, is in Berlin (A.Z. xxxviii, 117).

Sezes, of the list of Abydos, seems to be equivalent to Akhes, of Manetho, by his position; but no remains are

known belonging to this reign.

Neferkara, of the Abydos list, appears to be the same as Huni, found in the list of Saqqara, the Turin papyrus, and the Prisse papyrus, but nothing contemporary with him is yet known (see A.E. 1916, 78).

# III, 9. SNEFERU (15 about 4803-4777 B.C.

Temple and pyramid, Kho, at Meydum (P.M. 5-11; P.M.M. i, ii, iii, viii, xiv). Lower temple and causeway (P.M.M. ii, xxv; P. Lab. 24-5). Dahshur, N. stone pyramid, Kho (A.Z. xxxviii, 121). Gizeh, diorite bowl (F.P. Coll.; P.S.C. 3, 9, 3). Abusir, 3 bowls, Sahura (B.G.S. 114-5). Beni Suef-Hibeh, bowl (B.S.V. 18686). Sinai Maghara, tablets (P. Sin. 44, Figs. 50, 51; G.P.S. 5, 6). ,, Serabit, Hawk (P. Sin. 96, Fig. 126). figure, group, and sphinx (P. Sin. 96, 46, 129: Figs. 128, 129). shrine of kings (P. Sin. 84; G.P.S. 124 a, b). name later (P. Sin. 130, 137, Figs. 144, 4). Hat-nub quarry (B.F.H. v). Requanch, bowl (G.T.D. 50, xxv). Erment, granite bowl (W.G.). El Kab, bowls (Q.K. 4, 5, 19). Vase lid, Cairo Mus. (Fig. 31). Scarabs (P.S.C. 3, 9, 1, 2). Palermo stone (S.A.).

Queens—MERTITEFS; statue (Leyden Mus., C.R. i, 4, 5).

MERISONKH?; pyramid, Meydum (P.M. xxxiii). Sons—Känefer (M.F.D. II, 23).

Snefru-nefer-her (M.F.D. II, 14).

Ra-hetep (P.M. ix-xvi).

Daughters—Nefer-kau (L.D. ii, 16).

Nefer-māot (L.D. ii, 17).



Fig. 31.—Vase lid of Sneferu (C. Mus.).

With the reign of Sneferu we reach firm ground historically, his own monuments and those of his subjects being well known. royal domains seem to have lain about forty miles south of Cairo, at Meydum, as the pyramid is there, and near there was the town Zed-Sneferu. The pyramid of Meydum has been the subject of strange suppositions,-that it was a rock cut into shape, that it had no passages, that it was externally a step pyramid, etc. The tombs near it have been assigned to the XIIth dynasty, in spite of the most obvious resem-

blances to the earliest work of the IVth dynasty. Later researches have cleared away such speculations (P.M. 5-11).

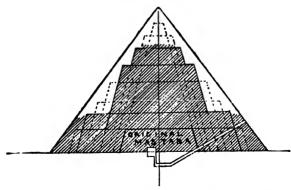


Fig. 32.—Section of pyramid of Meydum. Scale, 1 inch to 200 feet.

The primitive form of the sepulchre of Sneferu was a square mastaba (Fig. 32), that is, a mass of masonry, flat-

topped, with sides slanting inwards at about 75° or 1 in 4. The entrance was in the lower part of the north face. To enlarge this tomb a coating of masonry was put over it, as was often done in brick to the tombs of this age. The original mass was also carried upward, and thus a step resulted on the outside. This same process was repeated seven times, resulting in a compound pile, of which the top surface of each coat formed a great step on the outside. The outline thus became pyramidal, and the last process was to add one smooth casing in one slope from base to top, and so carry it up to a point at the pyramid angle 14 on 11

(Fig. 3). Two of the casings having been partly removed for stones, the mass inside of them is left standing up in a towering form (C.A.E. 3). This is the earliest pyramid known, as the step pyramid of Saqqara is not a true pyramid, but a mastaba which was repeatedly enlarged, and was never coated over in one slope: thus it was never finished into a pyramid like that

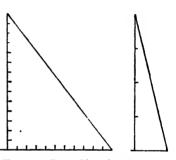


Fig. 33.—Pyramid angle, 14 on 11; mastaba angle, 4 on 1.

of Meydum. For quarry marks of year 17, see P.M.M. 9. The successive enlargements of the pyramid of Meydum have led to a theory being started, that all pyramids were s milarly enlarged by coats during the kings' lives; but in several cases the details of arrangement prove that the full size was planned from the first.

The interior of the Meydum pyramid is reached by a long passage sloping down from the north face; in the rock under the centre it runs horizontal for a short way, and then turns upward as a vertical shaft, opening into the floor of the sepulchral chamber. This chamber is built on the surface of the rock, and is roofed by nine overlapping courses of stone. In the chamber, and the passage beneath it, were found pieces of the wooden coffin and a wooden jar, all broken and wrenched into splinters (F.P. Coll.). The wooden beams supporting the shaft lining are still

sound and firm, being saturated with salt from the rock. Outside of the pyramid, against the middle of the eastern face of the casing, was built a courtyard and chambers, forming a small temple. In this courtyard stood an altar for offerings, between two tall steles, without any inscription. On the temple walls were graffiti dating from the old kingdom to the XVIIIth dynasty; five of these mention Sneferu as the king to whom this pyramid was attributed. And the styles of the pyramid, the temple, and the tombs are in every respect distinctly more archaic than the works of any later period, so that there is no possible ground to

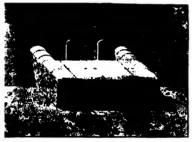


Fig. 34.—Pyramid temple of Meydum.

throw doubt on this repeated testimony. The temple is as plain as possible (Fig. 34); no stone is used but limestone, and there is not the slightest ornament or decoration in any part of it. The walls were built in the rough, and trimmed down afterwards. A peribolus wall enclosed the pyra-

mid and temple; the entrance to it was on the east side, leading to the temple; and the approach to it was by a causeway, walled on either hand, leading up from the plain.

It appears that Sneferu had two pyramids; at Dahshur is the tomb of certain keepers of his pyramids; Dua-ra, keeper of the two pyramids named *Kho*; and also Onkhma-ra, keeper of the two *kho* pyramids of Sneferu (M.A.F. i, 190), one being distinguished as the south *kho* pyramid. The second pyramid is the northern stone pyramid of Dahshur, from which a causeway leads to the lower temple, where Sneferu's name is found (A.Z. xxxviii, 121).

The worship of Sneferu was maintained constantly. His. priests and adorers were:—

Meten Early IVth dyn.
Henka " " "
Tep-em-onkh Vth "

Tomb, Abusir (Berlin, L.D. ii, 5). Statue, Meydum (Berlin, B.C. 51). Tomb, Dahshur (M.F.D. 12). Tomb, Saqqara (M.M. 198).

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Vth? dyn. Tomb, Dahshur (M.A.F. i, 191).
Thentha
                   XIIIth
                                 Dedication on base (M.A. 587).
Dudu.
                 .XVIIIth
                                 Stele, Leyden.
                                 Coffin, Berl. (L.D. iii, 276).
Senbef
Psamtek-menkh XXVIIth
                                 Serapeum stele (Rec. xxii, 173).
Ptah du
                                 Gizeh (R.E. 62).
                                 Coffin, Louvre (B.T. 1256).
                      Ptol.
Imhetep
                                 Stele (B. Mus. No. 380).
Formula to Sokar-Osiris and Sneferu (A.Z. xxxviii, 121).
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The only great royal inscription is that of the tablet in Sinai. It is headed by a cartouche containing the whole of the royal titles and name: the order of these differ remarkably from later usages, reading "(The King of Egypt, lord of the vulture and uracus, Neb maot, the Golden Horus, Sneferu). The Horus Neb maot (ka name) Sneferu, great god, possessing all power, stability, life, health, expansion of heart, for ever. Subduing the countries." The king is seizing on a Bedawi (marked by his thin, narrow beard), and preparing to smite him with a mace.

Of small objects there are many bowls known from various sites; also some scarabs (P.S.C. 3, 9, 1, 2), which are shown to be contemporary by the peculiar spelling nefer. r.f. for f.r., which is only found in that age (G.L.R.

p. 63, Nos. ix, xi, xxxvii.d; A.S. vii, 275).

Of the events of the reign, some are preserved in the fragment of the annals on the Palermo stone. In the XIIIth year a great ship of 100 cubits was built, and 60 lesser ships. There was a Negro war in which 7,000 people and 200,000 cattle were taken; and 40 ships of cedar were brought. In the XIVth year another cedar ship of 100 cubits was built. In the XVth year the great cedar doors

of the palace were set up (S.A.).

Although it is doubtful if Khufu was the son of Sneferu (and De Rougé has remarked that none of the early kings appear to be sons of their predecessors), yet the family of Sneferu continued to the fourth generation. At Gizeh, on the hill-edge south-east of the pyramid of Khufu, is a tomb of Sneferu khof, whose father, Nefer maot, was son of Nefertkau, the daughter of Sneferu. A queen of Sneferu was named Mertitefs; her statue is at Leyden, and a tablet of hers was found at Gizeh (M.M. 565). The type of face is very curious (see Fig. 35, and for the whole group see C.R. 4, 5), belonging to a very marked race, to which may

also be referred two early statuettes at Gizeh, and the scribe of the Louvre. Thus a royal wife might be of the inferior

race, and not of the high type.

Another queen is named, apparently as a wife of Sneferu, at Meydum in a temple graffito of the XVIIIth dynasty (P.M. 40). Her name, Mery-s-onkh, is usually attributed to a queen of Khafra; but it is only stated as the name of a royal wife in the tomb of her son, the Prince Neb-em-akhet (Gizeh). If she were a wife of Sneferu in the end of his



Fig. 35.—Upper part of statue of Mertitefs.

reign, her son might not be older than the reign of Khufu, and in his old age might therefore easily engrave in his tomb farm names compounded with the name of Khafra, which are the only indication of date in it. Thus it would not be at all impossible for her to be the wife of Sneferu. Or, again, she might have passed on to the harem of Khufu, as did Mertitefs, and her son Neb·em·akhet may not have been born till twenty years of the reign of Khufu had passed. There is therefore no sufficient reason to deny the accuracy of this statement of the XVIIIth dynasty graffito.

• An inscription of the queen Merysonkh is at Cairo Museum (R.E. ix, 77).

The principal persons buried near Sneferu at Meydum were two royal sons, Rahetep, and his wife Nefert, and Nefermaot, with his wife Atet.

Rahetep and Nefert are well known from their incomparable statues in the Cairo Museum (Fig. 36). These



Fig. 36.—Rahctep and Nefert (C. Mus.).

statues are most expressive, and stand in their vitality superior to the works of any later age in Egypt. They were found in the tomb chapel, which—inviolate when discovered in 1871—was so much injured that it was finally removed and distributed to museums.

The scenes (P.M. ix-xiv) are drawn with more vivacity and expression than in any tombs of succeeding dynasties. The tomb of Nefermaot (P.M. xvi-xxvii) is peculiar for a special experiment of his own; all the hieroglyphs and figures are deeply incised, and filled with coloured pastes,

secured in place by undercutting and keying carved in the hollows. The details of faces were worked in the colours. The inlaying, however, is soft, and soon perishes by exposure, and by salt efflorescence. The drawing is very good, but lacks the expression of detail in the faces which are so finely rendered in the reliefs of Rahetep. The signs carved in these tombs are among the finest known; and they are of great value as pointing to the origin of the hieroglyphs, and to the state of civilization in which they were adopted. The advanced state of architecture shown in the forms figured there is very remarkable; but it appears to be mainly taken from wooden forms, and illustrates the lateness of the adoption of stone building (Cairo Mus.).

The close of the first three dynasties is a well-defined point in Egyptian development. Down to this age the character of work was more or less tentative. Although the main outlines of style were fixed in the times between Normer and Zer, yet the IInd and IIIrd dynasties are far from showing the style which prevailed later. The beginning of stone building in the IIIrd dynasty needed a couple of centuries of development before it could rise to its full grandeur under Khufu. And the growth of the use of stone superseded the wooden panels, which had served in earlier times to decorate the tombs of the great officials. At the close of the IIIrd dynasty we see the beginning of the system of stone offering-chambers in the mastabas, and observe the grand scope which they gave for decorative carving, as at Meydum. This system led on to the immense wealth of sculpture which marks the IVth and Vth dynasties. In other respects later styles were growing: a few scarabs may be attributed to Nebka and Sneferu. the IVth dynasty we begin the continuous series of scarabs which proceed with no great break throughout Egyptian history. The style of those bearing the names of the kings of the IVth and Vth dynasties is well marked; it agrees with the fine hieroglyphs of that age, and is entirely different to the style of the scarabs of any later time. There is, then, no reason to doubt that they show the rise of a fashion which, originating from the veneration of the beetle as in prehistoric times, became one of the most prominent of Egyptian customs.

The first three dynasties, so long in the dark, are now

cleared up almost throughout, and we can trace the continuous development of the civilization from the prehistoric times, more completely than in any other country, and see how it led up to one of the grandest periods of human activity.

CHAPTER III
THE FOURTH DYNASTY

| 1 | MANETHO.    | Lists.       | MONUMENTS.           | YEARS. | B.c. about |
|---|-------------|--------------|----------------------|--------|------------|
| 1 | Sōris       |              | Shaaru               | 29     | 4777       |
| - |             |              |                      |        | 4748       |
| 2 | Sūfis       | Khufu        | Khufu<br>Khnum∙khufu | 63     |            |
| 3 | Sūfis       | Kho·f·ra     | Kho·f·ra             | 66     | 4685       |
| 4 | Menkherës   | Men·kau·ra   | Menkaura             | 63     | 4619       |
| 5 | Rhatoisēs   | Ra·zed·f     | Razedf               | 25     | 4556       |
| 6 | Bikheris    | Shepses·ka·f | Shepseskaf           | 22     | 4531       |
| 7 | Seberkherës | Sebek·ka·ra  | _                    | 7      | 4509       |
| 8 | Thamfthis   |              | Aimhetep             | 9      | 4502       |
| 3 | 2           |              |                      |        | 4493       |

In this list the order of Manetho is followed; but it does not always accord with that of the monumental lists. At Abydos Razed is placed between Khufu and Khafra, but this is unlikely from the succession stated on the statue of Mertitefs. In the list of Saqqara, Sebek kara is placed between the end of the VIth or VIIth dynasty, and the end of the inverted XIIth dynasty. As there is not another instance of the names Seberkherës or Sebek kara in any place, it seems possible that the designer of the Saqqara list in his evident confusion (inverting a dynasty) brought in Sebek kara in the place of Sebek neferu, who should hold that position at the end of the XIIth dynasty next to Amenemhat IV. The name Aimhetep is reason-

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ably an origin for the form Thamfthis of Manetho: but his inscription in Wady Hammamat (L.D. ii, 115 h) does not perhaps seem so early as the end of the IVth dynasty: his name may therefore have been accidentally transferred from the end of the Vth to the end of the IVth dynasty, by Manetho or a copyist. The list of Abydos is more complete than that of Saggara, which only gives the kings 2, 3, and 5. No names remain in the Turin papyrus; and the numbers of frag. 32, usually set to this dynasty, have no connexion with it, not a single reign corresponds with Manetho. and a name ending in . . . zefa shows it rather to belong to the XIVth dynasty.

## IV, I. SHAARU about 4777-4748 B.C.

El Kab. Rock inscription (S.B.A. xxi, 100).

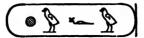
The beginning of the IVth dynasty has long involved a difficulty, as it seemed from the tombs and monuments that Sneferu was the immediate predecessor of Khufu. Recently, however, a new name, Shaaru, has been found at El Kab, incised on a rock in the desert, by the side of two cartouches of Khufu, exactly similar in style: no other names adjoin them. It is therefore clear that Shaaru was known at the same time as Khufu, and thus the name Soris as predecessor of Khufu is fully explained; and Fig. 37.—Inscription of Shaaru.

Sneferu takes his place at the end of the



IIIrd dynasty. It has been proposed that this is a new and unknown reading of the name of Khufu, as Shafu, but this is unlikely. The re-examination of it, quoted above, showed that the ru at the end was all one figure of the quail u.

### IV, 2. KHUFU



about 4748-4685 B.C.

Temple and pyramid, Akhet, at Gizeh (P.P.). Tideh, nr. Desuk, block (Rec. xvii, 100). Block, Bubastis (N.B. viii). Gizeh altar (J.E.A. 1916, 46). bowl (P.S.C. 4, 2, 1). pyramid seal (P.S.C. 4, 2, 5). " plummet (P.S.C. 4. 2, 7).

Hat nub quarry tablet (P.A. xlii). Sinai, Maghara, tablet (G.P.S. 7). Abydos, ivory figure (P. Ab. II, xiv). Koptos vasc (P.S.C. 4, 2, 6). Fig. 38. -Plaque Hierakonpolis, bowl (Q.H. xviii, 6). (F.P. Coll.). Seheyl, graffito? (C.M. i, 88, 53; A.S. xi, 171) Weight (H. Coll.). Alabaster vases (L.D. ii, 2; U.C. Coll.). Scarabs (P.S.C. 4, 2, 2-4).

Queens—MERTITEFS (C.R. i, 4, 5; R.E. lxii). SEDAT (L.D. ii, 21). Sons-Khufu khof (M.M. 562; R.E. lxi) (possibly = Khofra, see Westcar Pap.). Hersaf sarcophagus, Cairo (A.Z. xxxvi, 96). Ka·uab (L.D. ii, 26 a). Min zedef (L.D. ii, 33 b). Heta (L.D. ii, 23-5). Merab (L.D. ii, 18-22). Daughters-Hentsen, stele (M.D. liii; Rec. xxxvi, 84). Nefer-heteps (L.D. ii, 82 c). Hetep hers (L.D. ii, 26). Meronkhs (L.D. ii, 26 c) (married Khafra).

The great pyramid of Gizeh has made the name of Khufu, or Kheops, better remembered than that of any other king of Egypt; a fact which reverses the thoughtless verdict that pyramids are monuments of senseless ambition, and contradicts Sir Thomas Browne in his sentence that "to be but pyramidally extant is a fallacy of duration." Khufu has provided the grandest monument that any man ever had, and is by this means better remembered than any other Eastern king throughout history.

The great pyramid was set out from the first upon a vast scale, larger than any other pyramid; and it contains more stone than probably any other single building ever erected. Its base is far greater than the whole area of the great temple of Karnak, from Amenemhat to Ptolemy; its height is greater than any other building, except two or three slender towers of modern times. Yet it stands as one of the earliest structures of the world (Fig. 40).

That it could not have been designed of any much

smaller size is shown conclusively by the internal passages. The entrance these would have. been quite impracticable in design on any size of building no much over twothirds of the present base. The actual size, moreover, shows that both this and the pyramid of Meydum were designed to an exact dimension. The most probable theory of its construction is that it was of such an angle that the height was the radius of a circle equal to the circuit of the This is so base exactly the case. that it can hardly be questioned; and as the earlier pyramid of Sneferu has the same angle, it



Fig. 39.—Ivory Bust of Khufu, Abydos.

is evident that some attention was given to it. This angle is practically a rise of 14 on a base of 11 (as the ratio of radius to circle is closely 7:44); and hence the height of the pyramid should be divisible by 7, and the base of the side by 11. On looking at these two pyramids, we see

that they were set out by a modulus of an even number of cubits. They measure—

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Height 7 × 25 cubits in Sneferu's pyramid.

Height 7 × 40 cubits in Khufu's pyramid.
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Such a simple and direct application of a similar design to each of these pyramids makes it very improbable that

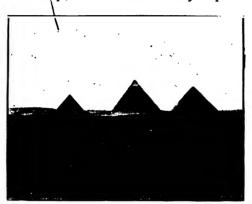


Fig. 40.—The Pyramids of Gizeh from the south.

they had been enlarged haphazard to their final size without a clear design before arranged.

The pyramid was built of stone from the quarries on the opposite side of the Nile; both the fine casing and the rough core must have come from there, as no such stone, and no equivalent quarries, exist on the west bank. The tradition recorded by Herodotus as to the labour employed, is so entirely reasonable for the execution of such a work, that we cannot hesitate to accept it. It is said that a hundred thousand men were levied for three months at a time (i.e. during the three months of the inundation, when ordinary labour is at a standstill); and on this scale the pyramid-building occupied twenty years. On reckoning the number and weight of stones, this labour would fully suffice for the work. The skilled masons had large barracks, now behind the second pyramid, which might hold even

four thousand men; but perhaps a thousand would quite suffice to do all the fine work in the time. Hence there was no impossibility in the task, and no detriment to the country in employing a small proportion of the population at a season when they were all idle by the compulsion of natural causes. The training and skill which they would acquire by such work would be a great benefit to the national character.

The workmanship greatly varies in different parts. The entrance passage and the casing are perhaps the finest; the flatness and squareness of the joints being extraordinary. equal to opticians' work of the present day, but on a scale of acres instead of feet or yards of material. The squareness and level of the base is brilliantly true, the average error being less than a ten-thousandth of the side in equality, in squareness, and in level. The Queen's chamber is also very finely fitted, the joints being scarcely perceptible. Above that the work is rougher; the grand gallery has not this superlative fineness, and the construction of the King's chamber is flagrantly out of level, though its granite courses are fairly well wrought. A change of design is also shown by the shaft which has been cut through the masonry from the grand gallery to the subterranean parts; and also by the unfinished rough core masonry left for the floor of the Queen's chamber. Apparently the architect who designed and insisted on all the fine work, died during its progress, and far less able heads were left to finish it.

That the entrance was closed by a hinging trap-door of stone is evident from the account of Strabo, and the remains of such a door to the south pyramid of Dahshur. The interior is so familiar in many books that it is needless to describe it here. The arrangement and number of chambers is entirely different from that known in any other pyramid; but from our ignorance of their former contents, it is almost useless to speculate about their purpose. The granite boxcoffin in the King's chamber seems to point to that as the sepulchral chamber, especially as the great subterranean chamber in the rock was abandoned before it was cut out. The second high-level chamber, called the Queen's chamber, is said by Edrisi (A.D. 1236) to have contained then a second coffin; but no trace has since been seen of it. The great

niche or recess in the east wall of the chamber seems as if it might be for the ka statue of the king.

The name of the king is found repeatedly written in red paint, with the date of the 17th year on the blocks of masonry above the King's chamber; this establishes the traditional attribution of the pyramid. The chips and waste of the masons were thrown out around the pyramid to extend the platform on which it stands, thus forming extensive banks lying against the cliff, and stratified at the angle of rest. From these strata pieces of pottery, charcoal, and thread may be obtained.

Outside of the great pyramid extended a wide pavement of limestone, which on the east side stretched out to a temple which stood there. Of this temple no walls remain; but there are portions of a pavement of brown basalt, 190 feet long and 80 feet from east to west. Outside of this pavement are three deep trenches cut in the rock; these were lined with blocks of fine stone, and must have been originally about 160 feet long, 20 feet deep, and not over 5 or 6 feet wide. The purpose of such trenches is quite unknown; but there may have been some system of observing azimuths of stars by a surface of water at the bottom, and a cord stretched from end to end at the top: by noting the moment of the transit of the reflection of the star past the cord, an accurate observation of azimuth might be made, and opposite azimuths of two stars (a polar and an equatorial) could be noted by an observer at each end of the cord. This is only a surmise; but it is one which would be in agreement with the accuracy of star observation shown by the orienting of the pyramid, and it would explain the peculiar form of these trenches. A fourth trench in the rock is but shallow, and has a steady fall down to the cliff edge. As it is worn by water, it was doubtless a drain for the washing of the pavement.

The worship of Khufu was maintained till a late period. The priests and keepers of the pyramid recorded are—

| Merab .      | Early | <b>IVth</b> | dyn. | Tomb, | Gizeh  | (Berlin), | L.D. ii, 22 c |
|--------------|-------|-------------|------|-------|--------|-----------|---------------|
| Ka-em-nefert | _     | ,,          | ,,   | Tomb, | Gizeh, |           | L.D. ii, 16   |
| Khufu-ka-ar: | ۱.    | ••          |      | ,,    |        |           | L.D. ii, 17 d |
| Khemten      | •     | ,,          | ,,   | ,,    | ,,     |           | L.D. ii, 26   |
| Ka·y .       | •     | ••          | ,,   | **    | **     | • •       | L.D. ii, 34 b |

| Thentha.   |          | IVth d    | lyn.   | Tomb,   | Saqqar  | a,     | . 1 | M.M. 89;         |
|--|----------|-----------|--------|---------|---------|--------|-----|------------------|
|  |          |           | •      | •       |         | -      |     | A.S. ix, 87      |
| Hetep-hers   |          | .,        | ,,     | ,,      |         | •      | . 1 | M.M. 90          |
| Pen·meru, pri  | est c    | of obelis | sk .   |         | •       |        |     | A.S. xiii, 247   |
| Tetaemsaf sta  |          |           |        |         |         |        |     | Q.S. 1907, 113   |
| Aimeri .   |          | Vth       | dyn.   | Tomb    | Gizch,  |        |     | .D. ii, 50 b     |
| Shepses-kaf-ar   | nkh      | ,,        | ٠.,    | ,,      | • ,, •  |        |     | L.D. ii, 53 a    |
| Ptah-bau-nefe  | er       | ,,        | ,,     | ,,      | ,,      |        |     | L.D. ii, 55      |
| Nefer-ked  |          |           | ,,     | ,,      | ,,      |        |     | S.B.A. 1905, 34  |
| Tep-em-onkh  |          | .,        | ,,     |         | Saggar  |        |     | M.M. 198         |
| Snezem-ab-Ar   |          | ,,        | ,,     |         | Gizch.  |        |     | .D. ii 76        |
| Urarna .   |          | VIth      | ,,     | ,,      | Shekh   |        |     | L.D. ii, 112 a-c |
| Scrfka .   |          | ,,        | ,,     | ,,      | ,,      | •      |     | D.S. 11          |
| Urthekau   |          | ".        | ~      |         | Karna   |        |     | L.S.K. 2         |
| Ra nefer ab  | <b>X</b> | XVIth     |        | Ring.   |         |        |     | v York ;         |
|  |          |           | ••     |         |         | ,      |     | Z. xxxviii, 122  |
| Psemtek men  | kh       | ę.        |        | Serano  | eum ste | le 314 |     |                  |
|  |          | •         | ••     |         |         | 291    | -   |                  |
|  |          |           |        | •       | ,,      |        |     | c. xxxii, 173    |
| Sezefu IV "  | ruler    | of gate   | e of 1 | house o | f K " N | fevd:  |     |                  |
| Sezefu IV, "ruler of gate of house of K," Meydum P.M.M. 28 |          |           |        |         |         |        |     |                  |

The only great royal inscription, like that of Sneferu, was on the rocks of Sinai. There were two tablets: one with name and titles of Khufu, the other with the king smiting an enemy, and the name Khnum Khuf (L.D. ii, 2, This raises a difficult question, to which no historian has yet given a satisfactory answer. Who was this person designated as Khnum Khuf? Was he the same as Khufu. or an associated king? That he was not a successor is evident by the name being used indifferently with that of Khufu, in the quarry marks inside the pyramid (L.D. ii, 1). and by his not appearing in any of the lists. The name is found in six places—the pyramid quarry marks (L.D. ii. 1). the tablet of Sinai (L.D. ii, 2), the quarry of Hat-nūb, the tomb of Khemten at Gizeh (L.D. ii, 26), two farm names of Shepseskafankh in Vth dynasty (L.D. ii, 50), and on a sealing (P.M.M. xxxvii, 41). In each of these places the normal cartouche of Khufu also occurs, except in the quarry; and the second cartouche differs in never being written with the two u signs; it is always Khnum-khuf, while the other name is Khufu. The addition Khnum cannot be merely a flight of orthography, as on the tomb of Khemten we read, "Lord of vulture and uracus, Mezer (ka name of Khufu) (Khnum khuf) Khent (Khufu)..." The two names being thus placed in succession in one inscription cannot be mere chance variants of the same. That they were separate kings is strongly shown by the two falcons on nub, and by the falcon-name differing:—Horus Neb... Khnum-khuf (P.M.M. 43), and Horus Mezer Khufu. We conclude that he was a co-regent who died before Khufu. There is a name lost in the Turin papyrus which would allow of the insertion of this king.

Another debatable question with regard to this reign is the tablet containing a reference to the sphinx, which has been often published and commented on (M.D. 53). The



Fig. 41.-Rock tablets of Khnum-Khufu and Khufu, Wady Maghara.

work of the tablet is wholly unlike that of the IVth dynasty; and it is generally agreed that it was executed in a late period. It was found in the small temple beyond the small pyramid south-east of the great pyramid. This temple was built by Pasebkhanu of the XXIst dynasty; and this tablet was carved probably under him, or some successor of his. The whole value of it turns on the question, then, whether it is an exact copy of an earlier tablet engraved by Khufu. Daressy concludes that the beginning of it is a copy of an earlier inscription, but the end of it is a Saite invention (Rec. xxxvi, 84). If so, it at

least implies that there was a temple of Isis on the pyramid hill before Khufu, and that is very improbable, as temples were placed in cities, and not on a desert plateau where there was no other work. Intrinsically therefore the subject condemns its date. Moreover the granite temple is clearly as late as Khafra,—as we shall see presently,—and hence could not possibly be a temple found by Khufu. The only point that can be identified is the very place at which this tablet was required to give the sanctity of age to a new building.

The need of fine stone for the advancing luxuries of architecture led to the discovery and working of the alabaster quarry, as much as ten miles from the Nile, behind Tell el Amarna. There Khufu began by cutting a wide, gently-sloping road, descending into the plateau, to reach the rock-masses of alabaster; and the cartouche Khnum Khuf and ka name, cut as a sign of possession on the rock, have stood open to the day ever since. This quarry was that well known as Hat-nub in the later inscriptions; it was used during the old kingdom, and was probably the source of all the alabaster building and vessels of that age. In the middle kingdom an adjacent quarry was opened, and others during the empire. Alabaster vases of Khufu are known (Liverpool and U.C. Coll.), and a piece of one was found at Koptos (F.P. Coll.).

At Bubastis, a granite block with a largely sculptured ka name of Khufu points to his having executed some great building here; and this early work is confirmed by

an adjacent block of Khafra.

It has been stated that Khufu erected an obelisk (W.G. 178, 185), but this is a mis-reading. The real passage is, that Merab (L.D. ii, 22 c) was *Ur maa*, or high priest, of Heliopolis (as Rahetep was at Meydum, P.M. xiii), and also priest of Khufu; the obelisk, or rather column, merely occurs here as a sign in writing the name of Heliopolis, and has nothing to do with Khufu. There was, however, an obelisk on a basis in this reign, according to the inscription of Pen meru in the text (A.S. xiii, 247), but the photograph, on pl. xi, looks more like the usual pyramid sign.

There are many tombs of great persons with the title "king's son," some being grandsons of kings, as Merab

(L.D. ii, 20, 21), whose mother was a king's daughter, but not a king's wife. Hence it is impossible to settle the parentage of these persons, or to which king they should be referred. These being, then, without direct historical connexion, we cannot here refer to them, except when they held royal priesthoods or other such offices. A weight bearing the name of Khufu carries back the gold standard of 200 grains to his time (H.P. Coll.). A standard capacity measure from the temple of Edfu is probably of this reign (U.C. Coll.).

The scarabs of Khufu are not very rare; from their workmanship, they are probably contemporary, excepting one of pottery made under Amenardus (G.M.). The plaque at the heading of this reign bears one of the earliest examples of the winged disc (F.P. Coll.).

### IV, 3. KHOFRA



about 4685-4619 B.C.

#### RAHETEP (B.M.M. 1907, 180-1).

Temple and pyramid, Ur, Gireh (H.G.C.; P.P.). Granite temple (H.G.C.; P.P.). Statues, granite temple (H.G.C. 91-107; B.S.C. 9-17). Bubastis, block (N.B. xxxii). Bowl, pyramid temple (B. Mus.). Mace heads, pyramid (H.G.C. 106; P.S.C. 4, 3, 11). Memphis, alabaster statue (B.S.C. 41; A.S. iii, 25). El Kab, graffito (S.B.A. 1909, 250). Scarabs (P.S.C. 4, 3, 1-8; H.C.S. 13-23). Sealings (P.S.C. 4, 3, 12; A.S. xiii, 242). Cylinders (P.S.C. 4, 3, 9-10; G.T.D. xxxii B.S. 138 B.G.N. 138). Queen-Merisonkii, daughter of Khufu (L.D. ii, 14, 26). Sons (G.L.R. i, 91)-Ra skhem ka (L.D. ii, 41 c, 42 a, c). Names of Khafra Neb emakhet (L.D. ii, 12-14; M.M. 523-4). from a Min an (L.D. ii, 34 g). Ra nekau (L.D. ii, 15 a). statue. Min khof (L.D. ii, 82 d). Daughter-Shepset kau (L.D. ii, 12 a).

The pyramid of Khofra stands near that of Khufu, on the south-west.

Mother—Tomb, Gizeh (A.S. x, 41).

It is rather smaller than that of Khufu, inferior in accuracy, and of a worse quality of stone, both for core and for casing masonry. The lowest course, however, was of red granite, which did not appear on the outside of Khufu's pyramid: the entrance passage is also of granite. The site of the pyramid has been levelled considerably. south-east it is built up of blocks of rock: at the west and north it is deeply cut into the rock hill, leaving a wide space around the sloping mass of the sides, with a vertical boundary facing the pyramid. The lower part of the pyramid on these sides is undisturbed rock cut into shape: upon that lie a few courses of enormous rock blocks, cut out from the rock clearance around the pyramid, and above that comes building of smaller blocks brought from the east cliffs. The casing still remains upon the top of this pyramid.

It had originally two entrance passages, one high on the face; another leading out in the pavement in front of the face, which was, and still is, blocked with masonry. The chamber is on the ground level, sunk in the rock, but roofed over with slanting beams of stone. The sarcophagus is of granite; the lid was secured by under-cut grooves in which it slid, and was held from being withdrawn by bolts (of copper?) which fell into holes, and were secured by melted resin, which still remains. The sarcophagus was sunk into the floor when Belzoni found it, and its lid lay over it, displaced: now the floor is all

destroyed.

On the east side of the pyramid stood a temple. The vast blocks of rock which formed the core of the walls still remain; and some of the granite casing of the interior is yet in place. It has been completely excavated and published by Holscher (H.G.C.), with the fragments of statues and other objects found there.

From this temple a causeway led down a line of the rock plateau, where a gradual and easy slope could be laid out. It is evident that this is a road of convenience, made exactly where it could be placed with the best gradient, and distinctly not square with the pyramid or the temple, being about 15° south of east. It was doubtless the road up which material was brought for the building of the pyramid and the temple, like the roads belonging to the

other pyramids. It was paved with fine stone, recessed into the rock bed.

This road led down to the plain, and must have been open at the end when the material was being taken up it. After the pyramid and its temple were finished, the road was utilized as a junction between the pyramid-temple at the top of it, which was built square with the pyramid, and another temple at the foot of it, which was built with a skew entrance in continuation of the road (Fig. 42). This is a point of great importance as proving the age of

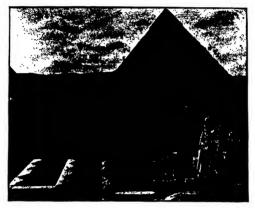


Fig. 42.—West side of granite temple, showing passages and causeway leading askew up to temple of second pyramid.

the granite temple. Both of these temples are oriented square to the points of the compass; but the road between them is askew for reasons of its construction, and the lower temple passage is all one with the line of the skew road, so that it could not have been altered without pulling down all that end of the building. The courtyard on the top of the temple, and the stairs of access to the top, are also dependent on this skew passage, which is built in one compact mass with the whole body of the temple. Hence the granite temple must be subsequent to the roadway and to the building and finishing of the pyramid and temple of Khofra; and as his statues were found in this temple, the building of it may be certainly attributed to Khofra.

This granite temple—often misnamed the temple of the Sphinx—is really a free-standing building on the plain at the foot of the hills; but it is so much encumbered that it is often supposed to be subterranean. The upper part

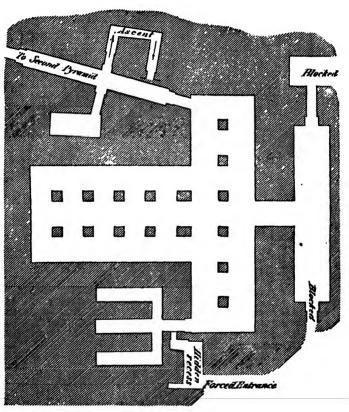


Fig. 43.-Plan of granite temple. Scale 100.

of it now consists only of the great blocks of inferior rock which formed the core of the walls; but the lower story of it inside is perfect, and outside of it the casing still remains, showing that it was decorated with the primitive pattern of recessing. The whole of the surfaces inside are

of red granite, or white alabaster (Fig. 43). The essential parts of it are a T-shaped hall with the stem toward the pyramid, and a long hall parallel with, and adjoining, the head of the T. From the T-hall opens a chamber with three long recesses, each divided into an upper and lower part by a thick shelf. These recesses are of alabaster. This chamber, and one opening from the entrance passage. retain their roofs complete, with ventilating slits along the top of the wall. Over the T-hall was an open court. reached by a sloping way, which turns in the thickness of the wall, from the entrance passage. The long hall is higher than the T-hall, and had a large recess above each of the doors which occupy the ends of it. These recesses seem as if they might be for statues, as there is no access to them, and they were closed at the back, and so could not be for windows. The diorite statue of Khofra was found in this hall, thrown into a well, or subterranean chamber. This is now filled up, and no proper account was ever given by the explorers. The clearance of the front of the temple has shown that it had two entrances, each flanked by sphinxes facing (H.G.C. bl. viii).

Near this temple stands the Sphinx (Fig. 44); and as there is no evidence of its age, we may consider it here owing to its position. Its whole mass, lion's body and man's head, is entirely carved in unmoved native rock, although the weathering lines give the head the appearance of built courses. The body has been cased with stone, and the paws of it are built up with small masonry, probably of Roman age. It must have been a knoll of rock, which ran out to a headland from the spur of the pyramid plateau; and the hardness and fine quality of the mass now forming the head had doubtless preserved it from the weathering which had reduced the soft strata below that. When then was this knoll of rock so carved? And by whom? A later limit is given by the stele of Tahutmes IV placed between its paws, which records a dream of his, when taking a noonday siesta in its shadow. It must then be much older than his time. On the other hand, it has been supposed to be But there is some evidence against that. In the middle of the back is an old tomb shaft; such would certainly not be made at a time when it was venerated, and it must belong to some tomb which was made

here before the Sphinx was carved. No tombs near this are older than Khufu, nor are any in this part of the cemetery older than Khofra. We may see this on looking at the wide causeway in the rock up to the second pyramid. On either hand of that is a crowd of tomb shafts, but not one is cut in the whole width of the causeway. In short, the causeway of Khofra precedes the tombs in the neighbourhood; but the Sphinx succeeds these tombs. How much Tahutmes knew of Khofra, or cared to honour him, is shown by the material he selected for his tablet. It is

carved on a grand door lintel of red granite, which almost certainly was robbed from the granite adiacent temple of Khofra. The devotion Tahutmes his to predecessor was a fiction. and no more : and how much he knew of the works of Khofra may well be doubted.

The front of the Sphinx was a place of devotion in



Fig. 44.—The Sphinx, side view.

Roman times; and great brick walls were built to hold back the sand on the side next the granite temple. A wide flight of steps leads down to the front, where a Roman altar of granite stood before the shrine between the paws, which was formed of tablets of Tahutmes IV, Ramessu II, etc. This front of the Sphinx has been cleared three times in this century; but the back of it, and lower part of the sides, have never been examined.

Khofra was worshipped till late times, like the other great kings of this age. His priests and keepers of the pyramid were—

S. of Sphinx Thanta (A.S. ix, 87)Thetha IVth dynasty (L.A. 8, a, d) Uash (his son) (L.A. 8. b. c) Khofra-onkh (L.D. ii, 8, 10, 11) Dahshur (M.A.F. i, 191; A.S. iii, Nefermant I. II 203-4) Ka-em-nefert Vth dynasty (M.M. 248) Tep-cm-onkh Vth dynasty (M.M. 198) Psamtek-menkh XXVIth dynasty (Scrapeum stele 314)

Apparently some other great building of Khofra existed

to the south of the Memphite cemeteries; for in the construction of the south pyramid of Lisht are built in



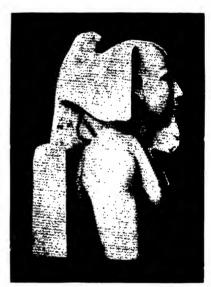


Fig. 45.—Khofra, Diorite statue. (G. Mus.)

some fragments of a lintel and walls, bearing the name of Khofra.

The statues of Khofra have brought us face to face with him, and caused his features to be almost as well known in our times as in his own reign (Fig. 45). The great diorite statue is a marvel of art; the precision of the expression combining what a man should be to win our feelings, and what a king should be to command our regard. The subtlety shown in this combination of expression,—the ingenuity in the overshadowing hawk, which does not interfere with

the front view,—the technical ability in executing this in so resisting a material,—all unite in fixing our regard on this as one of the leading examples of ancient art. Six other statues of lesser size were also found in the granite temple, carved in diorite and green basalt. A smaller statue of fine work in alabaster was in the group of early statues lately found at Saqqara. All of these are now in the Cairo Museum. A block of granite with the names of Khofra was found at Bubastis (N.B. xxxii), showing his activity in the Delta.

# IV, 4. MEN·KAU·RA O — L L L about 46194556 B.C.

Temple and pyramid Her, Gizch.
Pyramid Neter.
Memphis, diorite statue (B.S.C. 39).
Gizeh, groups (C. Mus.).
Gizeh, statue with queen (B.F.A.M.).
Gizeh, groups with Hathor,
Gizeh, seated alabaster figure,

Gizeh, alabaster head, (all C. Mus.). Gizeh, base of statue (F.A.B.;

xx. 27).

Gizeh, figure with falcon back
(U.C. Coll.; A.E. 1923, 1).

Byblos vase (A.E. 1922, 58).

Cylinders (M.A.G. 15; N.Sc. v, 3; P.S.C. 4, 4, 1-2; B.M.M. 1911, Jan.; A.S. iv, 134; F.S. 10).

Scarabs (P.H.S. 31).

Fig. 46.-Steatite cylinder.

scale. (F.P. Coll.).

Sealing (P. Ab. ii, xvi, 18).

As in the case of Sneferu, we again meet with the strange occurrence of a king having apparently two pyramids. In the tomb of Urkhuu, at Gizeh, we find that he was priest of Menkaura, and keeper of a place belonging to the pyramid Her (L.D. ii, 43 d, 44 a). And Debehen, who was a high official of Menkaura, also mentions the pyramid Her (L.D. ii, 37 b, 1st col.), so that it is always recognized by historians as his pyramid. But Debehen goes on to say that he inspected the works of the Menkaura pyramid Neter (2nd col.). And Uta in the IVth (G. Mus.) and Tep-em-onkh (M.M. 198) in the Vth dynasty were priests of the Menkaura pyramid Neter. Hence it is probable that there were two pyramids, as there were for Sneferu.

The pyramid of Menkaura, at Gizeh, is far smaller than those of his predecessors; and it is also far inferior in accuracy. But the masonry is good, and it is built in a more costly manner. The lower sixteen courses were cased with red granite, most of which still remains; the upper part was of limestone, of which heaps of fragments now encumber the sides. The granite casing was quarried and brought to Gizeh with an excess of several inches thickness on the face, the building joint-line being marked by a smoothly-worked slanting strip down the side of the

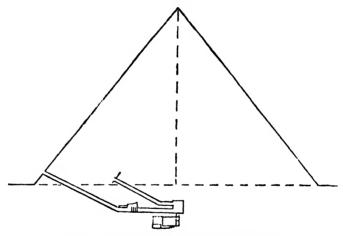


Fig. 47.—Section of the pyramid of Menkaura.

stone, beyond which it rounds away. This excess has never been removed from the faces, and the pyramid was never finished. The interior differs from that of the other pyramids (Fig. 47). The present entrance is lower than the line of an earlier passage, which was disused when the pyramid was partly built. The early passage now opens on to the great chamber at a higher level than the present door, and it runs northward in the masonry until blocked by the outer part of the building. The lower passage is lined with red granite down to the rock, like the entrance of Khofra's pyramid. In the horizontal part in the rock

are several portcullises, and a small chamber, or enlargement of the passage, decorated with the early recessed pattern. Beyond all this the large chamber is reached, entirely cut in the rock. The doorway of the earlier passage is now high up above the doorway of the later passage. The chamber has a recess in the floor, apparently intended for a sarcophagus; but another short passage descends in the midst of the chamber westward, and opens into a lower chamber in which stood the basalt sarcophagus, decorated with the recessed pattern of panelled doorways.

This was removed by Vyse, and lost at sea. The lower chamber is lined with granite, built into a flat-topped chamber cut in the rock The floor and walls are of granite, and the roof is of sloping granite beams. butting together, and cut out into a barrel roof beneath, like the barrel roofs of some of the early tombs at Gizeh. Some steps descend from the



Fig. 48.—Alabaster statuette of Menkaura, Gizeh.

side of the passage to a small chamber with loculi. In the upper chamber was found the lid of a wooden coffin with inscription of Menkaura, and part of a skeleton, probably of a later interment.

The temple of Menkaura adjoining the pyramid, and that at the lower end of the causeway, have both been cleared several years ago, but nothing has been published, and the objects found are still reserved from use. A remarkable figure, of which the upper part was found at Gizeh, has the king identified with the falcon, the back being entirely feathered as a bird, thus carrying further

the idea of the protecting falcon behind Khofra in Fig. 45.

The figure is in alabaster (U.C. Coll., Fig. 48).

Of lesser remains of Menkaura there is a statuette in diorite found at Memphis (C. M.). The work is not equal to the statues of Khofra, but is better than that of some later statuettes found in the same group. It seems from the diversity and continual deterioration of the work, that these statuettes must have been executed under the kings whose names they bear. Unhappily they were found at Memphis by Arab diggers, from whom they were bought at a high price for the Cairo Museum; and very contradictory statements have been made as to their exact source.



king.



kaura are rarer than those of either of his predecessors (Fig. 49); but his name was commemorated by Hatshepsut. A later king of the XXVth dynasty had the name Menkara, and many scarabs are known of him, as a vassal of Shabaka (P.S.C. 31). Few priests are known of this

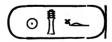
The contemporary scarabs of Men-

Fig. 49.—Scarab of Menkaura, and restoration by Hatshepsut.

> Nuonkhu, Tehneh, hen. (A.S. iii, 131). Thanta, Gizeh (A.S. ix, 87). Pen-meru, Gizeh (A.S. xiii, 247). Tep-em-onkh, Saqqara (M.M. 199). Min-hen (M.M. 200).

There is part of a decree naming the pyramid (A.S. xiii, 110).

#### IV, 5. RA-ZED-EF KHEPER



about 4556-4531 B.C.

Pyramid, Abu Roash (C. Mus.; B.M.; U.C.). Statue, head (B.B.D. 10 A). Abu Roash, ivory lions (C. Mus.). Green glazed plaque (A.S. vii, 261).

Scarcely anything is known about this king, and even his historic position is not certain. On the one hand, his name appears in the lists of Abydos and Saqqara, between Khufu and Khofra. But, on the other hand, he is omitted by Mertitefs, who recites her successive connexion with Sneferu, Khufu, and Khofra (R.S.D. 37). An early date is shown by Semnefer (who called his son and daughter after Khufu), being a deputy of the Horus Kheper (L.D. ii, 27, 29). Psamtek.menkh and Psamtek, his priests in the XXVIth dynasty, give the sequence in both cases as Khufu, Khofra, and Ra·zed·ef (R.S.D. 53). We can hardly refuse to recognize the Rhatoises of Manctho as Ra·zed·f; and here again the name appears after Khofra, and after Menkaura. The reputed bronze cylinder of this king (W.G. 187) is really of Zedkara (U.C.; P.S.C. 5, 8, 1). Unhappily the results from the excavation of his pyramid, twenty years ago, have not been published. He had some honour in later times, from an altar found at Gizeh (J.E.A. 1910, 46); the Serapeum stele 291 (A.Z. xxxviii, 122); a priest of his, Ptah·du·aau (R.E. 62) at Gizeh; a slab of another priest of his (G. Mus.), and a farm named after him in the tomb of Persen (R.S.D. 53, 54) at Saqqara.

IV, 6. Shepses·ka·f



about 4531-4509 B.C.

Pyramid, Keb, site unknown. Scaling (P. Ab. I, 27; lv, 1). Scarab (P.S.C. 4, 6; F.P. Coll.). Eldest daughter, Maot kha (M.M. 112). Annals (S.A. 32).



Fig. 50.—Scarab (F.P. Coll.).

The only list containing this king's name is that of Abydos; and in that, and the few other monuments, his name is always thus written, but on a scarab it appears with ra added (see above). There may have been two forms on the name, as there were the two forms, Neb·ka and Neb·ka·ra, apparently both belonging to the same king; and at Sheykh Said Userkaf has ra added to his name, as Manetho also gives Userkheres (i.e. User·ka·f·ra) for User·ka·f. The name in Manetho, Bikheris, may possibly be a mutilated form of this name retaining only the p·ka·ra. Or else the Seberkheres, the next name on

the list, might refer to this king; but as the tomb of Ptahshepses shows this noble to have lived through the reigns of Menkaura and Shepseskaf, it is less likely that the Rhatoises and Bikheris of Manetho should both have to come between those kings.

Most of our knowledge of this king is from the tomb of his son-in-law, Ptah-shepses. He begins his biography by saying that "Menkaura educated him among the royal children, in the great house of the king, in the private apartments; in the harem he was precious to the king more than any child. Shepseskaf educated him among the royal children in the great house of the king, in the private apartments in the harem; he was distinguished with the king more than any boy. The king gave to him his eldest daughter Maot kha as his wife. His majesty desired better to put her with him than with any person. He was precious to the king more than any servant; he entered all the boats, he selected the bodyguard upon the ways of the court to the South in all festivals of appearing. He was secretary of all the works which it pleased his majesty to make, continually pleasing the heart of his lord. He was allowed by his majesty to kiss his knees, and was not allowed to kiss the ground. He pleased the heart of his lord when he entered in the boat 'Which bears the gods,' in all festivals of the appearing, loved by his lord. Satisfying the heart of his lord, loving his lord. Devoted to Ptah, doing the will of his god, pleasing every artificer under the king" (M.M. 112). He was prophet of the Shepsu sun-temple of Neuser-ra at the end of his life. which on the recorded chronology would imply that he lived 130 years. The proposal to therefore reduce the period would involve the greater difficulty of the building of the pyramids in a shorter time. Even in the recorded reigns it is difficult to reckon how the millions of large blocks could be cut, transported, and built up.

SEBERKHERES of Manetho is recorded as reigning 7 years (4509-4502 B.C.). No trace of this king has yet been found. The cartouche Ra-sebek-ka in the Saqqara list (M.D. 58) is the throne name of Sebek-nefru, in its right place at the and of the YIIth departs.

right place at the end of the XIIth dynasty.

IMHETEP



about 4502-4493 B.C.

Hammamat (C.M.H. 103; L.D. ii, 115 h).

This king is only known by an inscription of his in the quarries of Wady Hammamat. But there is no indication of his position except the apparent equivalence with Thamfthis in Manetho. As there are no other inscriptions as early as this at Hammamat, it is possible that he has been misplaced in Manetho. But in the Turin papyrus there are two names lost which may include this.

One of the last two kings may be identical with the king whose pyramid is at Zowyet el Aryan, with a ka name of Kho·ba, and the golden Horus name Art-zed-f (P.S.C. viii, 2; see also Q.H. lxx, 1).

The name *Kho ba* links him near the *Kho* names in the Vth dynasty; the golden Horus name is too complex to be likely at any earlier date, and is unknown before the IVth dynasty. The type of the pyramid without any inscriptions (A.S. ii, 92) bars it being later than Unas (Mus. Fine Arts



Fig. 51.—Seal of Kho-ba. (F.P. Coll.)

Bull. Boston, 1911, Dec.). A bowl with the name Kho ba was found in the temple of Sahura (B.S. 114-5). The details seem to limit this king to the IVth or early Vth dynasties; but as all the ka names of monumental kings at that age are known, we are led to place this Kho ba to one of the two kings of whom nothing is yet known beyond the lists. Another bowl is from Mac. Coll. in U.C.

In closing the account of this dynasty we will try to grasp somewhat of its character. The essential feeling of all the early work is a rivalry with nature. In other times buildings have been placed either before a background of hills, so as to provide a natural setting to them, or crowning some natural height. But the Egyptian consented to no such tame co-operation with natural features. He selected a range of desert hills over a hundred feet

high, and then subdued it entirely, making of it a mere pedestal for pyramids, which were more than thrice as high as the native hill on which they stood. There was no shrinking from a comparison with the work of nature: but, on the contrary, an artificial hill was formed which shrunk its natural basis by comparison, until it seemed a mere platform for the work of man.

This same grandeur of idea is seen in the vast masses used in construction. Man did not then regard his work as a piling together of stones, but as the erection of masses that rivalled those of nature. If a cell or chamber was required, each side was formed of one single stone, as at Meydum. If a building was set up, it was an artificial hill in which chambers were carved out after it was piled together; thus a mere hollow was left where the chamber should be, and then it was dressed down and sculptured as if it were in the heart of the living rock.

The sculptor's work, and the painter's, show the same sentiment. They did not make a work of art to please the taste as such; but they rivalled nature as closely as possible. The form, the expression, the colouring, the glittering transparent eye, the grave smile, all are copied as if to make an artificial man. The painter mixed his half-tints and his delicate shades, and dappled over the animals, or figured the feathers of the birds, in a manner never attempted in the later ages. The embalmer built up the semblance of the man in resins and cloth over his shrunken corpse, to make him as nearly as possible what he was when alive.

In each direction man then set himself to supplement, to imitate, to rival, or to exceed, the works of nature. Art, as the gratification of an artificial taste and standard. was scarcely in existence; but the simplicity, the vastness, the perfection, and the beauty of the earliest works place them on a different level to all works of art and man's device in later ages. They are unique in their splendid power, which no self-conscious civilization has ever rivalled. or can hope to rival; and in their enduring greatness they may last till all the feebler works of man have perished.

CHAPTER IV
THE FIFTH DYNASTY

|   | Manetho.             | Lists.                            | Monuments.                               | YEARS.                 | B.C.<br>about |
|---|----------------------|-----------------------------------|--|------------------------|---------------|
| ı | Üserkherēs<br>Sefrēs | User-ka-f<br>Sahu-ra              | User·ka·f<br>Sahu·ra                     | 28                     | 4493<br>4465  |
| 3 | Neferkherës          | Nefer ar ka ra<br>  Kakaa. A.     | Sanu-ra<br>  Nefer-ar-ka-ra<br>  Kakaa ? | 20                     | 4452          |
| 4 | Sisirēs              | Shepses-ka-ra                     | Shepses·ka·ra<br>  Suhtes ?              | 7                      | 4432          |
| 5 | Kherës               | Nefer·f·ra. A.<br>Kha·nefer·ra.S. | Nefer-f-ra                               | 20                     | 4425          |
| 6 | Rhathūrēs            | Ra·en·user                        | (Ra·en·user<br>(An                       | 44 frag.<br>34<br>T.P. | 4405          |
| 7 | Menkherēs            | Men·kau·hor                       | A·kau·hor                                | 9 8                    | 4301          |
| 8 | Tankherës            | Zed·ka·ra                         | Zed·ka·ra<br>Assa                        | 44 28                  | 4352          |
| 9 | Onnos                | Unas                              | Unas                                     | 33 30                  | 4308          |
|   |                      |                                   |  |                        | 4275          |

Total stated 248, actually 218

WITH the Vth dynasty we come to a new family, and to a more marked separation from previous times than has been met before. In the lists of Manetho, the previous dynasties were all Thinite or Memphite, but here we meet a sudden change to Elephantine. In the Tales of the Magicians of the Westcar papyrus

there is a curiously impossible tale, which evidently embodies some tradition of the change. Hordadef, the son of Khufu, is represented as introducing an ancient magician named Dedi, who tells Khufu that the eldest of three children, yet to be born, shall deliver to him certain documents he desires. Then the birth of the children is described, and the goddesses name them by punning names,-User ref, Sah ra, and Kakau, imitating the names of the first three kings of the Vth dynasty. The goddesses also declare of each that it is a king who shall reign over all the land. They then make crowns, and leave them in the house; and a sound of royal festivity emanates from the royal emblems. A maid-servant out of jealousy starts to tell king Khufu of these new claimants, and the tale is here broken off. The confusion of dates in supposing Kaka to be born in the reign of Khufu is obvious, but yet there is no reason to discredit the basis of the tale. The essential points of importance are that these three kings of the Vth dynasty are supplanters, of whom Dedi prophesies to Khufu, "Thy son shall reign, and thy son's son, and then one of them"; that these supplanters are born of the wife of a priest of Ra, who conceives these triplets by Ra; and that the god has promised the mother that they shall reign, and that the eldest of them shall be high priest in Heliopolis. Here, then, the new dynasty starts from a high priest of Heliopolis. and claims divine descent from Ra. Until this tale comes to be considered, it has never been observed that no Egyptian king claims descent from Ra until this Vth dynasty, unless the Khofra statue, Cairo 15, is contemporary. The earlier kings are always Horus kings, or Horus and Set united: but no king calls himself "Son of Ra" until the new dynasty, who are here stated to be children of the god Ra, and to begin as his high priests at Heliopolis. Thus the claim of the divine descent recorded in this tale precedes, and accounts for, the new title found on the monuments.

Of the order of the kings of this dynasty there is but little doubt. The only questions are concerning the double names that become common with the new race, who probably each had a second name as a son of Ra, a divine name as well as a human name. The list of Abydos and

that of Saqqara each omit one king, but the monuments and Manetho leave no doubt as to the true order.

V, I. USER·KA·F



about 4493-4465 B.C.

Pyramid, Uab·asut, Abusir? Sun temple, Ra·sep (Rec. xvii, 113). ,, vase, Cerigo (A.Z. liii, 55). Abydos, sealing (P. Ab. II, xiv, 288; xvi, 20). Another in U.C. Cylinders (M.D. 54 e. B. Mus.). ,, copper (El Kab, xx, 30).

mid (P), or the Ra-obelisk (R):—

R.P Tep·em·onkh (M.M. 199).



The position of the pyramid of Fig. 52.—Cylinder (B. Mus.). this king is yet unknown; but as two of this dynasty that have been identified are at Abusir, it seems not unlikely that the others are included among the nine of that group. Unas, however, was buried at Saqqara. Besides the pyramid, there was special devotion in this king's reign to the obelisk standing upon a mastaba-formed base, dedicated to Ra, and known by the name of Ra sep. Both uab priests and neter hon prophets were attached to it. The following are the persons

holding sacred offices belonging to the king (K), the pyra-

K Pehenuka (L.D. ii, 48).

K Ur-ar-na (L.D. ii, 112 a; D.S. vi, xiii).

Kahap (B. 1, 44, 45).

P Affa (M.M. 101).

P Min-hen (M.M. 199).

Ra-ne-onkh (B.S.C. 55).

P Ra en kau (M.M. 313).

R.P Nen-khetf-ka (M.M. 308; M.E. xxiii).

R,P Ne-ka-onkh (M.M. 311).

R,K Khnum-hotep (M.M. 312).

R,K Ptah-hotep (M.M. 314; B.R.I. vii, 3).

R,K Sennu-onkh (M.M. 316-319).

R,K Senzem-ab (M.M. 259).

Userkaf appointed Nebonkh of Tehneh as priest of Hathor (A.S. iii, 126, 132). The actual remains of this king are only three cylinders and two sealing.

# V, 2. SAHU·RA about 4465-4452 B.C.

Pvramid, Kho·ba and temple, Abusir (B.S.). Sun temple, Abusir (B.S., Rec. xvii, 113). Fragments at Abusir (Q.S. 1911, 15, 30). Vases, Abusir (B.S. 115-118). Koptos? Diorite group, Sahura and nome (B.M.M. 1920, Ju.). Karnak, statue by Senusert I (L.S.K. 4). El Kab. graffito (S.B.A. 1909, 321). Fig. 53.—Cylinder. scale. (F.P. Coll.) C.M.I. i, 88). Tomas. (W.L.N. lvii, 27). Sinai, Maghareh tablets (P.G.S. v. 8; vii, 9). Altar (C. Mus. 1736). Sealings (P. Ab. ii, xvi, 21-2; P.S.C. 5, 2, 2, 4). Scarab (Turin). Cylinders (P.S.C. 5, 2, 3; F.S. 12; B.M. 2598-9; A.E. 1915, 82). Named with kings on tablet (A.Z. xlviii, 113). Mother-Nefer heteps (M.M. 300).

The pyramid and its temples at Abusir have been well cleared and published, with a full study of the plan and restorations. (B.S.) The novelty in construction is the use of palm-leaf capitals, on round columns, cut in red granite, as monoliths over twenty feet high. This marks the beginning of a new architecture. Another type was also introduced, the clustered papyrus column with six The sculpturing of the surfaces also took on an entirely new character; the disc of the sun flanked with uraei first appears (B.S. 35), and the walls are covered with scenes of offerings and of triumph (B.S. 62). every way, therefore, a new feeling and new methods burst into the earlier aims of geometrical perfection which had been the ideals of the previous dynasty. The full appreciation of this departure must wait for the publication of the Abusir sculptures.

The splendid diorite group of the king with a figure of the nome of Koptos (N.Y.), descends from the similar groups of king and nomes of Menkaura (C. Mus. unpublished).

In Sinai Sahura warred on the native tribes, and carved a rock tablet commemorating his smiting the Menthu (L.D. ii, 39 f). A tablet of an official of this reign occurs

at Seheyl (M.I. i, 88), and graffiti behind El Kab, and at Tomas in Nubia. The wcrship of Sahura was largely carried on during this dynasty, and lasted until Ptolemaic times. The priests of Sahura (K) or of his pyramid (P) are as follow:—

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P Tep em onkh (M.M. 198).
Sekhem khetem onkh (M.M. 204).
K Onkh em aka (M.M. 213).
K Ka em nefert (M.M. 242).
K Ptah kho bau (M.M. 294).
P Nen khet ef (M.M. 308).
P Sennu onkh (M.M. 319).
K Nefer art nef (M.M. 324).
K Shepses kaf ankh (L.D. ii, 55).
K Ai mery

("),
K Ptah bau nefer ("),
K Ata (L.D. ii, 59 a).
K Unknown, XIXth dyn. (Serapeum stele 427).
K ", Memphis (B.R.I. iv, 3).
K Nefer ab ra sen akhet, Serap. stele 413 (Rec. xxiii, 90).
K, mention on stele 50th year Ramessu II (Rec. xxvi, 152).
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An altar and a sill of black granite, perhaps from the temple, are in Cairo museum. Beside a scarab, five cylinders and some sealings, there is a scarab (P.S.C. 5, 2, 1) with a name Ra:neb:kho. Now Sahura is

sole name of that king, and no second name is known; on the analogy that the

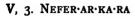
Horus Nefer khou is personally Khonefer raso Horus Neb khou may be Neb khora. P.S.C. 5, 2, 1.

If so, this scarab gives the other name of Sahura. A sed heb inscription is in C. Mus.

There are some lists which confirm the order of this dynasty. That in the tomb of Ra-skhem-kho (L.D. ii, 41 a) gives the kings to whom he professes to have been devoted, but there is nothing to show that he was contemporary with any of them, men were equally devoted (amakh-kher) to any of the gods.

The list on a stone in Palermo states the offerings for the feasts of four kings (R.S.D. 74); and the list of priesthoods of Ptah kho bau (M.M. 295) gives also four kings in order. Thus we have—

| <i>Ra·skhem·ha.</i><br>Khofra<br>Men·kau·ra | Palermo.  | Westcar papyrus.             | Piak-kho-bau.                                      |
|---|---|------------------------------|--|
| Shepseskaf<br>Userkaf<br>Sahura             | Shepseskaf<br>Userkaf<br>Sahura<br>Nefer·ar·ka·ra | User∙ref<br>Sah∙ra<br>Ka∙kau | Sahura<br>Neferarkara<br>Nefer•ef•ra<br>Ra•en•user |
|   |   |                              |  |





about 4452-4432 B.C.

Pyramid Ba, and temples Abusir (B. Nef.).

Sun temple Ast-ab-ra.

Abydos, decree (P. Ab. ii, xviii; W.D.R. 68).

Cylinders, Timmins (S.B.A. 1905, 105).

Ward (W.S.B. xvi, 331).

Memphis bronze (A.S. xv.

Memphis, bronze (A.S. xv, 95).



Fig. 54.-Cylinder.

,, lost (M.D. 54 f). Scarabs (H. Coll.; B.M.; G. Coll., P.Sc. 40-1).

Sealings (F.S. 17, 18).

Copper work recorded, boats for the Sun temple (S.A. 41; A.E. 1921, 92).

The pyramid temple of this king is inferior in work to the previous; the great court and fore-court were only of brick, and the columns were four-lobed, like the later columns of Beni Hasan. Partly owing to its inferior work, the building has been much more destroyed. The only small objects in the temple were remains of wooden model vases inlaid with coloured glazes.

Thy, whose celebrated tomb is at Saqqara, was keeper of this pyramid (R.S.D. 94). The priests of the king (K) and of the pyramid (P) are—

P Thy (R.S.D. 94).
Ra·ne·onkh (B.S.C. 55).
P Akhut·hetep·her (M.M. 340).
P Seden·maot (M.M. 329).
P Ptah·en·maot (M.M. 250).
K Snezem·ab (M.M. 258).
K Ata (L.D. ii, 59 a).

K Urkhuu (L.D. ii, 43).
K Ptah·kho·bau (R.S.D. 92).
K Shepses·kaf·onkh
K Aimery
(L.D. ii, 55).
K Ptah·bau·nefer
K Ptah·ru·en (Louvre stele, c 154).

Offerings to him are mentioned on the Palermo list; and farms are named after him in the tombs of Pehenuka (L.D. ii, 45), Aimery (L.D. ii, 49), and Semnefer, at Gizeh.

The only considerable inscription of this reign is a decree found at Abydos. It ordained that none of the serfs dedicated to the use of the temple should be levied for any other purpose.

That this king had the personal name Kakaa, which sometimes appears, is certain, as the name of the pyramid

Kho·ba, and of the sun temple Ast·ab, is the same for both royal names (G.L.R. 358; A.Z. 1. 4). Though cylinders of Neferarkara are known there are no scarabs, but there are three scarabs of Kakaa, and a fly (B.M.). Quarry marks of Kakaa are on the stones of the tomb of Ty. This tomb has been completely published in photographs (S.G.T.).



Fig. 55.—Scarab (B. Mus.).

### V, 4. Shepses-ka-ra



about 4432–4425 B.C.

Asa Horus, Sekhem·kho·ra



This king is only found on the table of Saqqara, on a scarab (G. Coll.) and a sealing with the Horus name (M.C. 149). This scarcity of remains agrees with his reign being the shortest of the dynasty. Probably he is the same as king Asa, whose



Fig. 56.—Scarab (G. Coll.).

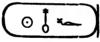
name occurs compounded in the names of farms and of private persons, long before king Assa (A.E. 1914, 80).

There is some uncertainty about this period, as it has been confused by wrong statements, which need mention to prevent their repetition. Meyer, Chronologie, 149, has no ground for connecting Akauhar with the Horus name Nefer-khau: see the cylinder in A.S. xv, 94. Daressy gives on the next page a wrong reference for the cylinder, which I have never seen. Gauthier copies wrong readings of the cylinder, Liv. Rois, I, 120, III, which really reads zad instead of nefer (P.S.C. 5, 8, 1). These errors, and their consequences, have to be cleared away. All is clear up to Neferarkara, and after Zedkara. The space between is filled thus—

| Manetho.  | Abydos.               | Saggara.     | Mon.    |
|-----------|-----------------------|--------------|---------|
| Sisires   |                       | Shepseskara  | Asa.    |
| Kheres    | Nefer ef ra           | Kho-nefer-ra |         |
| Rathouris | Userenra              | •            | An      |
| Menkheres | Menkauho <del>r</del> | Menkahor     | Akauhor |

The Horus name Sekhem-kho-ra certainly succeeds Neferarkara (A.S. xv, 95), and there is no place blank for it except Shepseskara. As also has no place for the name but that reign. The similarity of Horus Neferkhou with Nefer-ef-ra and Kho-nefer-ra points to their all being names of Kheres. Userenra's names are well known. Akauhor has the same name of pyramid as Menkauhor, and this place is the only one for him.

# V, 5. NEFER·F·RA

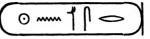


about 4425-4405 B.C.

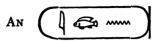
# KHONEFERRA Horus, NEFERKHO

The pyramid of this king was known as *Neter bau*. Two priests of the pyramid are known, Ra·onkh·em·o (M.M. 283) and Seden·maot (M.M. 329); and two prophets of the king, Ra·en·kau (M.M. 313) and Ptah-kho·bua (M.M. 295). The Horus name of this king is in a tomb at Bersheh (N. Br. ii, 57). He is named on a stele of Sen-amen (G.M.; see W.G. 198); and a private person is named after him, Nefer-f-ra·onkh (M.M. 335).

V. 6. RA·EN·USER



about 4405-4361 B.C.



Pyramid, Men-asut and Temple, Abusir (B.G.N.). doorway (P.M.I. 6).

Sun temple, Ra seshep ab (C.A.E. 107; Rec. xvii, 113).

Memphis, granite figure, C. Mus. 38 (Mus. E. i. 10).

Abydos vase (P. Ab. ii, xiv, 289). Karnak granite figure, C. Mus. 42003 (L.S.K.).

Sinai, Maghara (G.P.S. iv, vi). Alabaster vase, Berl. Mus. (L.D. ii, 39 c).

Cylinders (P.S.C. 5, 6, 1; B.M. 2600). Sealings (Q.S. 1907, 71; P. Ab. ii, xvi, 19). Scarabs (P.S.C. 5, 6, 2).

Statue by Senusert I, B.M. 870 (L.A. 9). Queens-Khenti-khou-s (B.G.N. 146).

NUB (B.G.N. 109). Son-Ptah hetep (Prisse papyrus). Daughters-Nebti-kho-merer (B.G.N. 127). Mert at (B.G.N. 129).

Fig. 57.—Scara (F.P. Coll.). -Scarab

These two names certainly belong to one king, as they are both given on a statue of king An, made by Senusert I: on the belt, and on one side, An is named, and on the other side, Ra·en·user (L.A. 7). The pyramid of this king is at Abusir, the middle one of the group. It has been well cleared and fully published, with the upper and lower temples (B.G.N.). The columns are the clustered papyrus type; the wall sculptures refer to the conquest of Libyans, Syrians, and others (B.G.N. bl. 12). Some complete figures remain (C. Mus.; B.G.N. bl. 16; B.B.D. 16A; A.E. 1915, Zed·ka·ra and Pepy II both restored this temple (B.S. 158-9). The pyramid is repeatedly found named with priesthoods; these are marked (P), and priesthoods of the king (K), in the list here:—

> Ptah-hetep (Q.R. xxxiii). P Onkh em ka a (M.M. 213). User-kaf-onkh (B.G.N. 113). P Ka em retu (M.M. 175). Kahetep (B.G.N. 129).

P Snezem·ab (M.M. 258). P Rana (A.S. x, 119). Zazemonkh (B.G.N. 120). P Seden maot (M.M. 329). Any (S.P.G. 13). P Ka-em-nefert (M.M. 242). P Kahef (A.Z. xxxv, 120). K Sekhem ka (M.S.M. vii). P Hapi-dua (M.M. 338). P Ptah kho bau (R.S.D. 92). P Thy (R.S.D. 94). K Urarna (D.S. xiii). P Akhet hetep (W.G. 199,. P (?) Nekht abs, pillar (W.G. 199). K Ptah bau nefer (L.D. ii, 55). K Ata (L.D. ii, 59). K Zefu (M.M. 251). Hershef hetep (S.P.G. 82).



Fig. 58.—Statuette of Ra-en-user (G. Mus.).

An altar of Ana onkh (G.M.) belongs also to this reign. A red granite statuette of this king (Fig. 58) was found in the group of early figures at Memphis, already mentioned

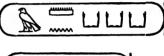
(G. Mus.). The alabaster vase bearing the name of Ra·enuser is one of a large class. They are found bearing names of Khufu, Racnuser, Unas, Pepi, and Merenra.

There is a variation in the spelling of the name of An, a name compounded with his being written as (An·n·y)-

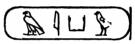
onkh, and (An·n·a)onkh (M.M. 255; R.E. 4).

Some scarabs bearing a fish have been attributed to king An, whose name could be thus sufficiently written without the signs, a, n: one scarab with the title sa ra, "son of the sun," has a good claim to this attribution, and would be one of the earliest examples of the use of this title claiming descent from Ra (Fig. 57).

V, 7. MEN-KAU-HOR about 4361-4352 B.C.



## Hor-a-kau



Pyramid, Neter-asut (unknown).
Sun temple, Akhet (unknown).
Portrait block (R.S.D. vi; J.D. iii, 291, 19).
Abusir, sealing (B.G.N. 132).
Sinai, Maghara (G.P.S. vii, 12; P. Sin. Fig. 54).
Memphis, alabaster figure (B.S.C. 40; A.Z. xxxvi, 17).
Stele naming the king (Q.S. 1908, 24).
Vasc, Berl. Mus. 10760, Abusir.
Cylinder, black granite, B.M. 2601 (H.C.S.).

The pyramid of this king has not yet been discovered, but many priesthoods give the name of it as *Neter asut*. The priests and prophets of the king (K) and of the pyramid (P) are as follow:—

```
P Ptah·hetep (Q.R. xxxiii).
P Akhet·hetep (R.S.D. 101).
P Ra·onkh·emo (M.M. 280).
P Ptah·nefer·art (M.M. 322).
P Sneferu·nefer (M.M. 395).
P Sem·nefer (M.M. 398).
P Ked·khenes (M.M. 402).
·K Ati (M.M. 418).
Min·onkh (S.B.A. xxvii 33).
```

An interesting slab of this king has survived (Fig. 59), having been built into a wall of the Serapeum. It represents Men-kau-hor standing, holding the baton and staff; over him flies the vulture Nekhebt; in front of him is a



F<sub>1G</sub>. 59.—Slab with figure of Menkauhor, found re-used in Serapeum (P. Mus.).

vase on a stand and a long bouquet of lotus; and above that is his name "Good god, lord of the two lands, Menkau hor, giving life like Ra." (For the portrait, see R.S.D. vi; L.D. iii, 291, 19).

An obelisk of this king, named Khut, is mentioned (Rec. xvii,

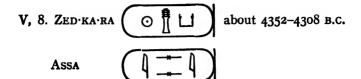
113).

In late time this king was still honoured, as on a stele of the period of the empire Thuthu adores Duamutf, Kebhsenuf, and Men-kau-hor (P.R. ii, 28).

The rock tablet at Wady Maghara is small, and partly destroyed; but gives the ka name, Menkhau, as well as the cartouche (G.P.S. 12). An alabaster statue of this king was in the group of royal figures found at Saqqara (G. Mus.). Of small objects, there are said to be three scarabs (W.G. 200). There is a

sed heb inscription (C. Mus.).

Horakau is a name only occurring in three farm names, in the tombs of Snezem-ab (L.D. ii, 76), Ptah-hotep (M.M. 353), and Sem-nefer (L.D. ii, 80 b). It should be noted that the order of the kings is truly given in the farm lists (Sahura, Kakaa, Nefcref-ra, Horakau, Ranuser, Assa) in the tombs L.D. ii, 74 d, M.M. 295, 329, without inversion.



Pyramid, Nefer.

Abusir, restoration in Sahura temple (B.G.N. 158).

Saqqara, papyrus of accounts (C. Mus.).

Maghara, steles, 18th year (G.P.S. 13, 14, 15).

Hammamat, on stele of Pepy I (C.M.H. 107).

Abydos, base of figure (P. Ab. I. lv).

Abydos, base of figure (P. Ab. I, lv). Tomas, graffito (W.L.N. lviii, 22). Alabaster vase (P. Mus., G.L.R. 135). Flint paint slab (P.S.C. 5, 8, 3). Cylinders (P.S.C. 5, 8, 1-2). Scarabs (P.S.C. 5, 8, 4; H. Coll.).



Fig. 60.—Scarab (F.P. Coll.).

The pyramid is frequently named on monuments, both as the *Nefer* pyramid of Zcd·ka·ra, and the same of Assa. The prophets of it are—

Ma·nefer (L.D. ii, 65-70).
Snefru·nefer (R.E. ix, 3, 4).
Snezem·ab, 5th yr. (A.S. xiii 248).
Ra·ka·pu (M.M. 272).
Akhet·hetep (M.M. 421).
Sem·nefer (M.M. 398).
Hesat (R.E. ix, 3).
(Unknown) (L.D. ii, 78 d).
Atush, uab (M.M. 296).
Ptah-hetep (Q.R. xxxiii).

The name of Assa is frequently found in farm names, as might be expected from his long reign (L.D. ii, 71, 76; M.M. 351, 383).

There seems to have been a greater activity in the eastern deserts than under previous kings. Three tablets are found in the Wady Maghara. In the south there was an expedition as far as Tomas (lat. 22° 42'). A portion of a stele at Wady Maghara gives the ka name and cartouche Zed·ka·ra; with sa Ra, the new title which began to come in general use at this period, written after the ka name (L.D. ii, 39 d). Another tablet was found in the same place at the mines by Major Macdonald, which mentions

the reckoning of cattle (G.P.S. 13, 14). At Hammamat there is an inscription naming Assa (L.D. ii, 1151).

Of small objects, some have been attributed to this king, which, from their style, evidently belong to his name-sake of the XXVth dynasty, Zed·ka·ra, Shabataka, the Ethiopian. But several are clearly of the early period. An alabaster vase (P. Mus.) is dedicated on "the first

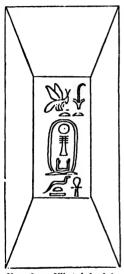


Fig. 61.—Flint ink-slab. (F.P. Coll.)

festival of the sed feast by the king Ra·zed·ka, beloved of the spirits of Heliopolis, giving life, stability, power, expansion of heart for ever and ever." An exquisite polished ink-slab in fawn-coloured chert, bearing his cartouche, is said to have been found in a pottery jar at Dahshur (F.P. Coll.) (Fig. 61). A cylinder of black steatite names a prophet of Hathor and of Net, with the ka name of the king twice repeated (U.C. Two scarabs are also of this early king, one plain, and one (figured above) with scrolls.

The oldest dated papyrus was found in 1893 at Saqqara, near the step pyramid, by fellahin digging there. It contains accounts of the reign of Assa; and this, or another found with it, has the name of Kakaa and of the Set ab ra obelisk. Unhappily, having been found by

natives, it was separated and sold in fragments, which have reached the Gizeh Museum, Prof. Naville, and M. Bouriant.

The reign is also signalized by the earliest well-dated papyrus composition, the Proverbs of Ptah-hetep. Although the actual copy that we possess (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris) is probably of the XIIth dynasty, it appears to have been copied from a more cursive original (S.B.A. xiii, 65), which might be of the date of the actual composition; and there seems no reason to question the statement that Ptah-hetep, in the reign of Assa, wrote this

work. He seems to have been an aged tutor of the king, who received royal encouragement to place his wisdom and courtesy before the world. The position of Ptahhetep was of the highest; he was "son of the king, of his body," and therefore probably uncle to king Assa, his pupil. These proverbs are so well known in various translations, literal and metrical, that, as they belong more to literature than to history, we need not quote them here.

# V, 9. Unas



about 4308-4275 B.C.

Pyramid, Nefer asut, Saqqara.

" Temple (A.S. ii, 244).

Mastabat el Faraun, Saqqara.

Byblos, vase (A.I.C.R. 1922, Jan.).

Rock tablet, Elephantine (P.S. xii).

Alabaster vases (B.M.; F.M.).

" Abbott Coll. (L.D.T. i, 7).

Scarabs (P.S.C.).



Fig. 62.—Stele at Elephantine.

No second name has been found which can be referred to Unas; and it seems as if he had retained his personal name throughout life, and never adopted a throne name compounded with ra.

The pyramid of Unas was found at Saqqara in 1881 (Fig. 63). The entrance is by means of a sloping passage from the north. This reaches a small horizontal chamber, and a passage, which is built of granite shortly before reaching three portcullises, and for some way beyond them. It ends at a square chamber covered with inscriptions. From the west end of this chamber a short passage leads to another chamber, more than half inscribed, containing the basalt sarcophagus. And from the east end another short passage leads to a cross-passage with three small chambers. In a corner of the latter was a heap of small wooden instruments, handles of knives, axes, etc.; these had probably served for the ceremonies of interment, and were left here on the same principle

that the long texts of the funeral service were carved on the walls (Rec. iii, 177; iv, 41; C.A.E. 6). Beside the pyramid, which was undoubtedly for this king, the Mastabat el Faraun (M.M. 361), at the south end of the pyramid field of Saqqara, has his name in the quarry marks on the backs of the blocks. This building is a rectangular mass, like the usual mastabas, but larger; it was evidently cased with fine masonry, which has now all disappeared, leaving rough steps. The entrance is

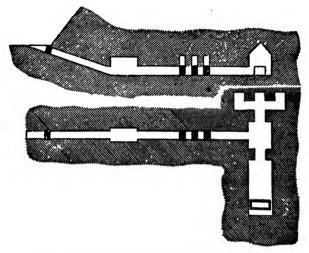


Fig. 63.—Section and plan of passages of the pyramid of Unas.

Scale 3do.

from the north, as in the pyramids. A sloping passage turns horizontal at the bottom, passes three slides for port-cullises, and lastly opens into a chamber running east and west, with a ridge roof. From the west end opens another chamber with barrel roof. And from the east end of the south side is a short horizontal passage, with four recesses and a small chamber. The arrangement is closely like that of a pyramid; and every part is equalled in that of Unas at Saqqara, though rather differently arranged. Possibly this structure may have been the tomb of a successor of Unas, who used some old blocks

marked with his name. The pyramid of Teta, who followed him, is known; but no tomb of User kara, the next but one, has yet been found, so that the Mastabat el

Faraun may perhaps have been built for him.

On referring to the priests of Unas, there is, however, a curious discrepancy. One of them, Akhet-hetep, has two steles in his tomb; on one stele he is called "prophet of the Unas pyramid Nefer asut"; but on the other he is "prophet of the Unas pyramid Asut asuti" (?), written with five as signs. If this is not a mere error, it may be that Unas had two pyramids (as we have seen to be probably the case with Sneferu); and so the inscribed pyramid and the Mastabat el Faraun may both belong to him. The prophets of the pyramid are—

Tep-em-onkh (M.M. 195). Ra-hent (princess) (M.M. 360). Sabu (M.M. 375). Ptah-shepses (M.M. 377). Akhet-hetep (M.M. 422-424).

The temple at Byblos was already established, and an offering vase of Unas was found there (A.I.C.R. 1922, Jan.).

It appears that he built a temple to Hathor at Memphis, as Tep·em·onkh was "prophet of the house of Hathor, who loves Unas" (R.S.D. 105; M.M. 195). For a slight plan of the pyramid field, see A.S. ii, 246; nothing effective has been done further for fifty years past.

The tablet of Elephantine (P.S. xii) is finely cut on a large rounded mass of granite, in the path to the village, near the ferry place. It is interesting for giving a remarkable spelling of Khnumu with three rams; and it served as a nucleus for four inscriptions of later kings. It is perhaps the earliest dated inscription at the Cataracts.

An inscription at Hammamat mentions a man named Unas onkh; but it is therefore probably later than Unas

(L.D. ii, 115 m; G.H. 7).

The Turin papyrus is in good condition at the end of this dynasty, and gives the last three kings and their years of reigning. The numbers do not coincide with those of Manetho: for Men kau hor the difference between eight and nine years may easily be owing to omitting the months; for Zed kara the forty-four years instead of twenty-eight is a difference too large to be accounted for by any

co-regency; but for Unas the difference of thirty-three and thirty years may be easily due to three years' co-regency with his predecessor. In the tomb of Snezem-ab his relations to Assa and Unas suggest that their reigns may have been contemporary (R.S.D. 102). At the end of this dynasty, after Unas, the Turin papyrus gives a summary of kings; but the entry only shows that the reckoning was given from Mena to this point, both the numbers and the years being lost.

Of small remains there are two fine alabaster vases (B.M., from Abydos; and F.M.). The scarabs are commoner than those of any king before this; but there is little variety or interest in them: see P.S.C. 5, 9, 1, 2.

The fifth dynasty is marked by its priestly character from the first. Its origin appears to have been a reassertion of the Heliopolitan element, which may have had a Mesopotamian origin, and which took the form of a usurpation by the priests of Ra in the Delta, who then established the claim to divine descent from Ra, which was maintained by all the later kings of the land. This priestly tendency is shown by the great attention to religious foundations, there being a dozen or more priests known of each of the earlier kings of the dynasty. The same character is seen in the absence of foreign wars and of great monuments; the kings retained their hold of the Sinaitic peninsula, but the main attention of the age was given to fine tombs and religious foundations.

The productions of the time show much falling off from the splendid style of previous reigns. The masonry is less careful, the forms and colouring are becoming formal; and vivacious as some of the work is,—as in the tomb of Thy,—it is yet miserably flat and coarse when compared with the brilliant and vital representations in the sculptures of the previous dynasty. Declension is evident on all sides, and the work, large and small, is done more for the sake of its effect than for the consciousness of its

reality.

At this point we may well look back and note what was the characteristic change introduced by each dynasty.

The Ist dynasty brought in a unified and organized government, full accounts and registers, large constructions in wood for the great tombs, the beginning of working

great slabs of granite. In religion the Horus worship, and the sacred falcon, were the main features; the dynastic people had conquered the Set worshippers and subdued them.

The IInd dynasty opens with a compromise of the two powers, the Horus and the Set worshippers. The first king called himself "the peace, or satisfaction, of the two powers." The lines of open graves round the royal tombs were changed to a subterranean passage opening on rows of tomb chambers, a type that survived till the XIIth dynasty.

The IIIrd dynasty opens with vast constructions. The immense rock cutting of Zowyet el Aryan, with its colossal granite floor, was but the preparation for a great structure never completed. The step pyramid of Saqqara followed on that. Later the pyramid of Meydum, and the great

tombs by that developed such work.

The IVth dynasty shows further changes. Building was now on the greatest scale ever known. The pyramids had not only temples attached to them, but also temples in the valley at the foot of the main causeway. The statues of the kings were placed in these temples. The tombs of the nobles increased greatly in number, in detail and decoration. The official organization of the land was completed. The Set worshippers were repressed, and Khufu took a new title, that of Horus triumphant over Nubti-set, the falcon standing on the sign nub. At the same time the ordinary worships of the country were repressed, and only pottery imitations of offerings were allowed.

The Vth dynasty made another great change. The worship of Ra revived, Set disappeared, and Horus the hawk god had to compromise by uniting with Ra. In the building entirely new ideals prevailed. The Sun temple of each reign was a main feature, with its obelisk in honour of Ra. The pyramid temples had a great development in form, with palm-leaf capitals on columns of granite, monoliths of twenty feet high. The clustered papyrus column was also introduced, wrought in granite; both of these forms lasted throughout the later history. The walls, which were formerly plain, were now covered with large figures, in low relief and coloured, showing the

royal worship and the scenes of the king's triumphs over the neighbouring people. Just at the close of the Vth dynasty began the characteristic of the VIth dynasty, the covering of the walls of the pyramid chambers with religious texts for the benefit of the deceased king. The worship of Set revived in the form *Mehti*, "of the north." Thus each dynasty shows not only a change of family, but also new ideals and types of work, as a distinct break with what went before.

CHAPTER V
THE SIXTH DYNASTY

|                                | Manetho.    | Lists.                          | Monuments.                     | YE       | ARS. | B.C.<br>about     |
|--------------------------------|-------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|----------|------|-------------------|
| E                              | Othoës      | Teta. A.                        | Teta                           | M.<br>30 | T.P. | 4 <sup>2</sup> 75 |
| 2                              | -           | User·ka·ra. A.                  | Aty                            | _        | 6    | 4251              |
| 3                              | Fios        | Mery·ra. A.                     | <br>  Mery·ra<br>  Pepy (I)    | 53       | 20   | 4245<br>4192      |
| 4                              | Methusūfis  |                                 | ( Mer·en·ra<br>  Mehti·em·sa·f | 7        | 4    | 4185              |
| 5                              | Fiōps       | Nefer·ka·ra. A.                 | Nefer-ka-ra<br>  Pepy (II)     | 95       | 9-   | 4090              |
| 6                              | Menthesūfis | ∫ Mer·en·ra<br>( Mehti·em·sa·f. | Mer·en·ra<br>Mehti·em·sa·f     |          | 1    | 4089              |
| 7                              | - 1         | Neter·ka·ra. A.                 | _                              | -        | _    |                   |
| 8                              | Nitōkris    | { Men·ka·ra. A.<br>Net•aqerti   | _                              | 12       |      |                   |
| Total stated 203, actually 198 |             |                                 |                                | 4077     |      |                   |

A., as at Abydos.

N this dynasty a new and more vigorous line of kings comes forward. The greater number of monuments, and the wide extent of country over which they are found, show this plainly. There is some uncertainty as to the end of the dynasty, but the greater part is well assured.

VI, I. TETA



about 4275-4251 B.C.

Pyramid, Zed asut,
Saqqara (Rec. v, 1).
Temple (Q.S. 1908, 19).
Death mask (Q.S. 1908, 112, lv).
Mace heads (Q.S. 1907, v; 1908, 20).
Memphis lintel (P.M.I. 6; A.S. iii, 29).



Fig. 64.—Alabaster jar lid. Scale 1.

Hat-nub graffiti (F.H. iv, xv).

Abydos decree (P. Ab. ii, xvii).

,, vases (U.C. Coll.; C. Mus.,

M.A. 1464). Tomas graffito (W.L.N. lviii, 9, 11).

Alabaster vase, and lid (B.M., G.L.R. i, 148; P.Sc. 57).

Sistrum, alabaster (J.E.A. 1920, 69).

XVIII dyn. stele in temple, Teta mer en ptah (A.S. xiii, 255). Queen—Khuat, tomb Saqqara (G.L.R. i, 150).

It appears that Teta never adopted a throne name, but, like Unas, only used his personal name throughout his reign; even in his pyramid no other name is found but Teta. This may mark a reaction against the sun-worship.

The pyramid is arranged in exactly the same manner as that of Unas, excepting that the three small chambers have been thrown into one. But it has suffered far more from the spoilers, who, in search of treasure, have largely destroyed the walls of the chamber at the end of the long passage. Probably this was one of the first pyramids opened by such plunderers; they have burnt and broken their way through the granite portcullises, instead of cutting a way over them as elsewhere, and they have here smashed the walls, and so gained the experience which showed them that it was useless to search thus in other pyramids. The texts which cover the walls show a decrease in the size of writing, from those of Unas; a change which was carried further in the small hieroglyphs of Pepy. The subjects are more religious, and less of a direct ritual, than those of Unas, though many passages remain identical (Rec. v, 1).

The priests of the pyramid are—

Sabu (M.M. 375). Ptah·shepses (M.M. 377). Hapa (R.E. ix, 3). Asa (P.R. ii, 76).
Mera (tomb at Saqqara).
(Unknown) (L.D. ii, 126 c).
Khuy (Q.S. 1906, 22).
Merruka (A.Z. xxxviii, 107).
XIIth Teta-em-saf (Q.S. 1908, 113).
Khnum-enty, Gizeh (A.S. xiii, 249).

Over the palace of Teta:-

Meru (D.S. 24),

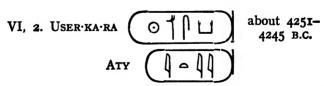
while

Ra.hent (M.M. 360) is prophetess of the Mert of Teta.

The name of Teta occurs on a part of the coffin of Apa·onkh (Berlin, L.D. ii, 98; see M.G. 98). As apparently a private name, it is written in a square, with a seated man determinative, twice over in the alabaster quarry of the XIIth dynasty at Hat-nub (P.A. xlii). And it again occurs as a private name at Zauyet el Maiyitin (L.D. ii, 110 o, r). As it is, however, a common name in early times, these are probably independent of the king's name. Written in a cartouche in a compound name, Teta·onkh, it is among the graffiti of El Kab (L.D. ii, 117; A.Z. xiii, 70). Manetho preserves a tale that this king was killed by his guards, and as a weak reign succeeds him, this is not unlikely.

Of small remains there are very few. An alabaster vase found at Abydos (M.A. 1464) gives the name of "Teta beloved by Zedet," with a figure of Osiris Ba·neb·zedet with the ram's head. This, and the other vase of Unas found at Abydos, suggests that all this class of vases with royal names have come from there. A lid with his name, figured above, is in B. Mus. No scarabs or cylinders

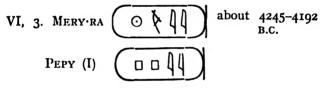
are known of him.



The name of User ka ra occurs in the list of Abydos, without any equivalent in the list of Saqqara, and the Turin papyrus is here defective. No other trace of his name has been found. But a king Aty, who apparently

Fig. 65.—Scarab (M. Coll.).

reigned for a short time, is recorded in an inscription of his first year at Hammamat, where he sent for stone to build his pyramid. As queen Aput, who was mother of Pepy I, was not the wife of Teta, there is presumption that there was a reign between these two, that of Userkara: and this would agree with the appearance of Atv. The inscription at Hammamat mentions the visit of an official. Ptah-en-kau, with 200 archers and 200 workmen, to bring stone for building the pyramid Bau of king Atv. And adjoining this is the name of the noble Atyonkh (?). the last part of the name having been destroyed (L.D. ii, 115 f; G.H. vii; C.M.H. 169). A scarab inscribed Ra-ka-uas has been attributed to Aty (Turin, 5418).



Pyramid, Men-nefer, Saqqara (Rec. v, 157; A.Z. xxxvii. 103).

Tanis, jamb (P.T. I, i).
,, ? sphinx (P. Mus.). Bubastis, jamb (N.B. xxxii).

Khankah, clay sealing (G.L.R. i, 155).

Memphis, half cylinder (P.P.A. 15, xxvi). Dahshur, decree, 21st yr. (A.Z. xlii, 3, 11).

Maghara stele (G.P.S. 16).

Kom el Ahmar, part statue (B.S.C. 43). Hat-nub inscrips. (P.A. xlii; F.H. xv, 1, 4).

Abydos, doorway and temple (P. Ab. ii, 11). blocks (P. Ab. ii, xx).

vase and glazed tablets (P. Ab. ii xxi, 244, 255).

inscribed cloth (G.L.R. i, 55).

Keneh, vase lid (P.T. I, xii). Koptos, decree (W.D.A. iii, vii).

,, statuette (A.Z. xxiii, 178). Hammamat graffiti (C.M.H. 32, 34, 62, 63, 103, 107).

Dendereh, block (D.D. iv a).

Pepy named (D.D. i, ii).

Erment blue paste cylinder (S.B.A. 1908, 72). El Kab graffito (Rec. xxii, 64).

Hierakonpolis, copper statues (Q.H. xliv, l-lvi).

granite stele (Q.H. II, 53).

statuette (Rec. x, 139).

Silsileh, graffiti (P.S. 539, 630).

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Elephantine granite naos (S.B.A. 1908, 72).
              rock inscription (P.S. 300).
              scarab (M.D. liv k).
Seheyl, rock inscription (C.M. I, i, 87).
Tomas, rock inscription (W.L.N. lviii, 9).
Kerma vase (A.Z. lii, 38, pl.).
Canopic jars from pyramid (Rec. v, 158).
Vases (Rec. v, 158; C.M. II, 188; B.M. Abbott; G.L.R. I, 155,
Pr.M. xlix, 7; P.Mus., P.C.M., G.L.R. I, 154, 157; Berl.
     G.L.R. I, 154; Cairo, G.L.R. I, 155, A.E. 1921, 53).
Cylinders (P.S.C. 6, 3, 4-6; C.V.O. xxxvii, 18; B.M. 2602-5,
     H.C.S.; Toronto; G.P.C. xv, 13; U.C. Coll.).
Scarabs (P.S.C. 6, 3, 1-2; B.M. 57-9, H.C.S.; G. Coll.; T.Mus., M.D. liv k; M.A. 536; G.P.C. xv, 14).
Plaques (P.S.C. 6, 3, 3; P. Ab. II, xxi, 244).
Silver seal (P. Mus.).
Weight? Athens (S.B.A. 1905, 104).
Queens-AMTES (B.A.R. 310).
           MERY'RA'ONKH'NES I and II (M.A. 2; B.A.R. 344).
Sons-Mer en ra Mehti em saf.
       Nefer-ka-ra Pepy II.
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This king has left more monuments, large and small, than any other ruler before the XIIth dynasty; and he appears to have been one of the most active and vigorous of all the early monarchs.

His pyramid was known as Men-nefer, and was opened at Saggara in 1880. It is of the same type as those of Unas and Teta, except that the castern chamber is all one, and is not divided into a cross passage and three small chambers. The walls have been greatly destroyed, and the fragments half filled the chambers; many of these pieces covered with inscriptions have been brought to Europe, from the heaps which lay about at the pyramid. An entrance had been forced by mining downward in the middle of the pyramid, and breaking up the deep beams of stone which form the roof of the sepulchral chamber; and this is now a clear section of a pyramid, showing the methods of construction. Not only were there sloping roof beams, of about five or six feet in depth, meeting above in a ridge; but these beams were so long, and went so far into the wall, that their centre of gravity was well within the wall-face, and hence they acted as cantilevers, resting on the wall without any need of touching each other at the top. Not content with one such roof, three roofs of this construction were built thus, one over the other, in contact; in this manner there was an ample surplus of strength. The spiteful destruction of this pyramid is far beyond what would be done by treasure-seekers. Every cartouche in the entrance passage is chopped out; and the black basalt sarcophagus has been elaborately wrecked, rows of grooves have been cut in it, and it has been banged to pieces, breaking through even a foot thickness of tough basalt.

Sunk in the floor is a granite box, in which were placed

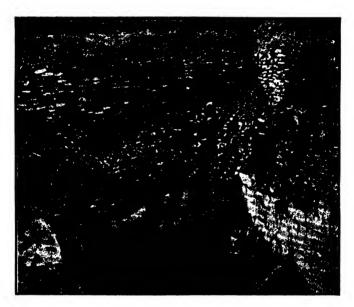


Fig. 66.—Rubble walls and chips forming the mass of the pyramid. At the right is the top of the chamber masonry.

the alabaster canopic jars and vases (Rec. v, 158). The lid of the box had no fastening, but was merely a slab, a double cubit square.

The inscriptions that remain in this pyramid are of the same type as those of Teta (Rec. v, 157; vii, 145; viii, 87). The body of the masonry, instead of being of hewn stone, is merely built of walls of flakes, filled in with loose chips; showing the feeble work in these later pyramids (Fig. 66).

The prophets of Pepy are numerous. They belong to the pyramid *Men·nefer* (P), to the *Het·ka*, or dwelling of the *ka* (K), and to the place called *Mert* (M). In one case a *mer* or keeper is named instead of a prophet, and this is noted here.

| P            | Prince Mena              |                    | (P.D. iii).         |
|--------------|--------------------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| P            | Mera                     | Saqqara            | Tomb.               |
| $\mathbf{P}$ | Adu                      | Khenoboskion       | (L.D. ii, 113 g).   |
| P            | Zauta                    |                    | (L.D. ii, 114 g).   |
| P            | Una                      | Abydos             | (Rec. xxxii, 41;    |
| -            | Ond                      | 110,400            | Mus. E. 27-8).      |
| $\mathbf{P}$ | Shesha                   |                    |                     |
|              |                          | .,                 | (M.A. 532).         |
| P            | Mery·ra·ptah·<br>se·onkh | ••                 | (M.A. 532).         |
| P            | Pepy·na                  |                    | (M.A. 528).         |
| M,P          | Sesa                     | Saggara            | (M.M. 420).         |
| P            | (unknown)                | Silsileh           | (P.S. 630).         |
| P,M          | Assa kho                 | Saggara            | (M.M. 456).         |
| K            | Ata                      | Zauyet el Maiyitin | (L.D. ii, 110 c-g). |
|              | Abu                      | Deir el Gebrawi    | (D.G. i, xxiii).    |
| K            | Kaka                     | Zauyet el Maiyitin | (L.D. ii, 110 n).   |
| K            | (unknown)                |                    | (L.D. ii, 111 k).   |
| ?            | Ùha                      | Posno coll.        | (W.G. 210).         |
|              | (unknown)                | Sharona near Minia | (S.B.A. 1899, 28).  |
| P            | Teta·em·saf, XII         | Saqqara            | (Q.S. 1908, 113).   |
|              | Meru, governor           | Sheykh Said        | (D.S. 24).          |
|              | of palace                |                    | •                   |

And an overseer (mer) of the sculptors of the pyramid, named Theta, is recorded at Hammamat (C.M.H. 103).

The most remarkable metal work of the Old Kingdom is the pair of statues of Pepy made of copper, found at Hierakonpolis. The smaller figure represents the king as a boy. The spirit and individuality of these figures is equal to the other sculpture in stone or wood (O.H. l-lvi).

Of buildings of Pepy there remained door jambs at Bubastis (N.B. xxxii), but that at Tanis was probably brought there later (P.T. I, 4; A.E. 1921, 25). He is stated to have erected an obelisk at Heliopolis (Pliny), and the foundation of the temple of Denders h is also referred to him in a Ptolemaic inscription there. He attended to the pyramid of Senefru at Dahshur, rebuilt the temple of Abydos, and left important remains at Koptos, Hierakonpolis and Elephantine, beside rock inscriptions far into Nubia. It seems, therefore, that he was a great builder, as we might gather from the number of quarry inscriptions of his reign. A grand stele was carved by him on the rocks

of the Wady Maghara, recording an expedition there in his eighteenth year, or if the cattle census was still biennial as in

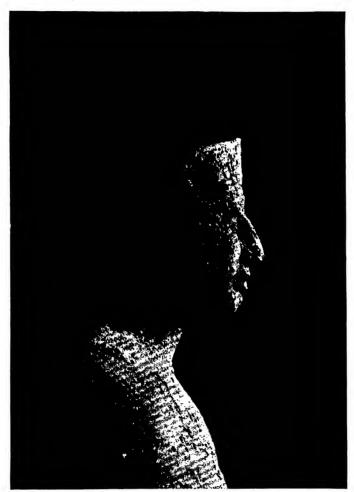


Fig. 67.—Copper Head of Pepy I, Hierakonpolis.

early times, this would be the 37th year. There is further the record of the 25th year, or census, at Hat-nub, showing

25 or 50 years of reign. This has an important bearing on the relative value of the Turin Papyrus and Manetho. The papyrus has only 20 years for the reign, or, including reigns before and after, 30 years, covering all possible co-regencies; but Manetho states 53 years, which would include the 50 years monumentally stated. Thus Manetho used better material here than the far earlier papyrus.

At Hammamat there is also an inscription of the 18th census, and another inscription of the workmen, recording the names of the chiefs of the parties (115 b, c); another of Mery ra on the throne as king of Upper Egypt, and Pepy on the throne as king of Lower Egypt, back to back, naming the Sed festival (115 a); another with Pepy adoring Min (115 e); another with only the names of the king (115 i); and lastly, a tablet of the chief of the works, Mery ra ptah

mery onkh (115 k).

The graffiti inscriptions at El Kab are mostly of private persons, many of whom are named after Pepy; as Pepyonkh (L.D. ii, 117 g, h, i, k, l); Mery ra senb (117 r); and Mery ra onkh (117 p, q, s, u, v). See also A.Z. xiii,

70.

In this reign we meet for the first time with a continuous historical document, which is of great interest as showing what the activities of the Egyptians were in travel and conquest in this age. The biographical inscription of Una was found in his tomb at Abydos (now in C.M.), and it describes the various labours of his life (A.Z. xx. 2: B.A.R. 291, 306). He begins by mentioning that first landmark of an Egyptian boy's life, the being girded, or wearing a waistcloth; equivalent to being "put into trousers" to an English boy. This was under king Teta; and the short reign of User ka ra was passed over in his youth. grew up, various offices, supervision of the pyramid priests. and a judgeship were conferred upon him, and he came into great favour with Mery ra. The first honour done to him was the supplying of the fine stonework from the royal quarries of Turrah, near Cairo, for his tomb at Abydos; he specifies the white stone sarcophagus, its cover, the great stele or false door for the shrine, its settings, two foundation blocks, and altar of offering (S.B.A. xi, 316). He took the evidence alone at the trial of the queen Amtes, and wrote the report with one other judge. The royal favour, which gave him facilities of transport for his tomb work, was next extended by setting him over a great raid on the Amu Bedawin to the east of Egypt. Tens of thousands of soldiers were levied from South and North Egypt andlike the Sudani regiments of the present day-from the negroes of Aarthet, Maza, Aam, Wawat, Kaau, and men of the land of Thamehu. Maspero (R.C. 1892, 364) identifies Aarthet as the region from Derr to Dongola, or Upper Nubia on the west. Aam is between Aarthet and Aswan, or Lower Nubia on the west side; and Wawat opposite to that on the east. The Thamehu are identified with the people of the oases. The whole management of the expedition, and of the officials employed, seems to have been in the hands of Una, and his success in it was the great event of his life. After that, he went on five lesser expeditions, to keep the land in subjection; and he was made governor of the south country, from Aswan northward, by king Meren ra. He then was employed to bring the special stone for the pyramid of Meren ra. From Abhat he brought the sarcophagus of black granite, and a top stone for the pyramid; from Elephantine he brought the granite false door and its sill, and the granite portcullises and their settings, for the interior of the pyramid; also the granite doorway and sills for the exterior temple. And then he was sent to Hat-nub to cut out and bring the great alabaster table of offerings. We now know the exact quarry at which he worked, where the names of Meren ra still remain, which were probably cut on this occasion. Time ran short before the subsidence of the inundation, and he built a boat during the seventeen days of the month Epiphi, in which he was extracting the stone; he brought it down, but the dry ground or shoa's were already appearing when he reached Memphis. would agree with the low Nile at the end of April when only boats of shallow draught can pass. After having thus provided the great stonework for the interior. Una went shortly afterwards to excavate five canals in the south, and build vessels in the land of Wawat to bring down still more granite, for which he was supplied with acacia-wood by the chiefs of the Nubian lands Aarthet, Aam, and Maza, and did the whole work in a year.

This long inscription of fifty lines gives our first detailed

view of the active, self-satisfied Egyptian officials who did

such great and lasting works for their country.

The family relations of Pepy are given in a tablet found at Abydos (M.A. 523). From this we learn that the queen was named Mery-ra-onkh-nes (or Pepy-onkh-nes in another tablet, M.A. 524); and that Meren-ra was the eldest son, and Nefer-ka-ra Pepy II the second son. Meren-ra died

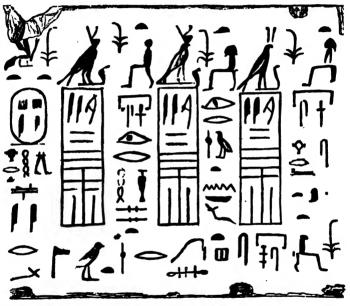
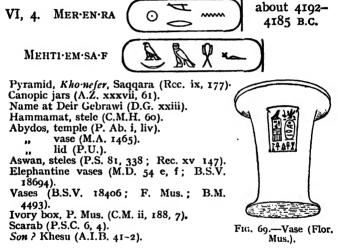


Fig. 68.-Cylinder (B. Mus.).

young, and was thus succeeded by his brother. The queen's father and mother were named Khua and Nebt, and her brother Za·u. She also appears as wife of Mery·ra and mother of Nefer·ka·ra in a tablet at Wady Maghara (G.P.S. 17).

A peculiar feature of this reign is the series of large cylinders of copper, stone, or blue paste, which served for various official seals, but which do not bear the names of officials. There seems to have been a general issue of seals to officers, ignoring and suppressing the importance of the individual holder.

The granite altar in Turin with the name of Pepy (S.B.A. Trans. iii, 110-112) certainly seems to be of later date by the style of the hieroglyphs, yet the earlier date has been defended (S.B.A. 1914, 203), and our ignorance of local style has produced so many surprises in fresh discoveries, that we cannot with certainty put this to a late date.



The pyramid of this king was found at Saqqara in 1880. It is constructed like that of his father Mery ra. We have already noticed the preparation of the materials in the preceding section, when stating the work of Una. The spoilers have violently ruined the pyramid, and destroyed some of the walls of the chambers; but the black granite sarcophagus is yet in good condition. The inscriptions are mainly the same as those in the other pyramids (A.Z. xix, I; Rec. ix, 177; x, I; xi, I).

The body of Merenra was found in the chamber, despoiled of all its wrappings, but in good preservation; it is now in the Cairo Museum. From the body we learn that he died young; even the youthful lock of hair is said to be still on the head (W.G. supp. 22). This agrees with Merenra's

short reign of 4 or 7 years. The golden Horus name represents the double Horus of the Xth nome, Up. Eg.

As Una records that he was girded under Teta, say at 10 years old, his age during these reigns might be about 10–16 under Aty, 16–69 under Meryra, when he made his great expedition, 69–76 under Merenra, during which time he finished the sculpture of his tomb, having already built it before his expedition. Then afterwards he settled down in private nobility, while others took the lead during the minority of Neferkara, as he does not allude to that at all. A cylinder seal, by its titles, is supposed to be that of Una (Rec. xxxii, 41).

Several prophets of the pyramid of Merenra are known. Una himself held this office, as we learn by a stele from Abydos. The excavation there having been left to natives, we do not know the original places of the steles and inscriptions, and all such records are lost for ever; but the high titles of the stele (M.A. 529) make it practically certain that it belongs to the same person as the long inscription.

| Ahy                      | Saqqara      | (M.A.F. i, 204).   |
|--------------------------|--------------|--------------------|
| Una.                     | Abydos       | (M.A. 529).        |
| Una (another)            |              | (M.A. 533).        |
| Una (uncertain)          | <b>2</b> 1   | (M.A. 541).        |
| Pepi na                  | ,,           | (M.A. 528).        |
| Adu                      | Khenoboskion | (L.D. ii, 113 g).  |
| Za uta                   | ,,           | (L.D. ii, 114 g).  |
| X                        | El Kab       | (S.B.A. xxi, 114). |
| Princes—Mena) keepers of |              | (P.D. iii).        |
| Adu I pv                 |              |                    |

A stele on the rock at Aswan records the visit of the king there to receive the submission of the chiefs of Arthet and Wawat in the fifth year (Rec. xv, 147); and another stele (L.D. ii, 116 b; more in P.S. 338) shows an official adoring the king with the two royal names. A third stele is dated in the fourth year (P.S. 81). And at Hammamat is a stele with the royal names (L.D. ii, 115 d).

In the last reign we considered the inscription of Una which relates to his raids on the Amu under Mery ra, and his bringing of granite for the pyramid of Merenra. We now turn to another invaluable biographical inscription, which relates mainly to this reign, but partly to the next. It is on the front of a tomb in the cliffs of Aswan (S.T.; R.C. 1892, 358), and records the deeds of a governor of

the South named Herkhuf. His father. Ara, seems to have been the immediate successor of Una in the Nubian affairs: as he begins by recording that Merenra sent him with his father on an expedition to Aam (or Lower Nubia, on the west) to explore ("find roads") for seven months; they returned with large quantities of tribute, or plunder. Merenra sent Herkhuf a second time alone; he pushed through to Arthet, or Upper Nubia, making an unheard-of circuit of the western countries, during eight months, returning with great tribute. A third time he was sent, starting from Uhet across the desert, and found the king of Aam (Lower Nubia) on an expedition against the Themhu, "at the west point of heaven," i.e. in the western oases: the Egyptians followed the Aam in their raid, and acted so vigorously with them that they thanked all the gods for the king. Having then appeared the chief of Aam, the Egyptians went through Aam to Arthet (or Western Upper Nubia), and returned through Sethu and Wawat on the eastern bank, finding the people all in peace. From these countries they brought 300 asses laden with incense, ebonv. leopards' skins, elephants' teeth, etc. For when the tribes saw the soldiers of Aam with the Egyptians, they gave tribute of oxen, goats, and all kinds of produce. On the return of Herkhuf in triumph, the king sent an official up the river to meet him, with a boat laden with delicacies, as a refreshment after the arduous campaign. In the identification of the lands mentioned, Maspero's view has been followed (R.C. 1892, 358); but Schiaparelli places these countries even farther south. Another curious document is also placed on this tomb, apparently resulting from another expedition in the beginning of the reign of Neferka·ra. It is dated in the second year of that king, and was a royal rescript addressed to Herkhuf in reply to dispatches sent from him while he was in the South, probably at Aswan. It begins by saying that Herkhuf having returned as far as Aam in peace, with his soldiers, and brought all good tribute, and this Deng, who is a dancer of god (performing some remarkable religious dance?) from the Land of Spirits, like the Deng that was brought by Ba·ur·dedu from Punt in the time of Assa, and all his work being very excellent;—therefore his majesty orders that when the Deng goes with Herkhuf, attendants shall watch him that

he fall not in the water, and shall sleep with him that he run not away; for his majesty (who was then eight years old) loves to see this Deng more than all other tribute. And if Herkhuf keeps him safe and sound, he shall be more honoured than Ba·ur·dedu was by Assa; and all provisions and necessaries are to be furnished for him on the journey to the court (see also A.Z. xxx, 78; B.A.R. 325, 350).

We learn from this that even in the time of Assa expeditions had been sent to Punt, and distant products had been brought back. We gather also that the Egyptians established a considerable hold on Upper Nubia, and drafted soldiers from there and received tribute; while from time to time exploratory parties were sent out to examine fresh districts, and to collect by force or favour all that they could.

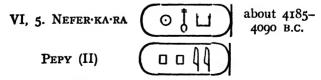
Of minor remains of Merenra there are some alabaster

vases, from Elephantine (M.D. 54 g) and Abydos (M.A. 1465). An ivory box with his name is in the Louvre (C.M. ii, 188, 7). And one scarab of his, in blue glazed pottery (Fig. 70), is known (F.P. Coll.). A cylinder with his son's name shows a co-regency (Rec. xxxii. 41).

Fig. 70. (F.P. Coll.)

The private tombs of this reign are at Meir (B.MR. I, 8), and Herkhuf's at Aswan, above.

There is some doubt as to the reading of the second cartouche; the first sign in it has been variously read, Hor, Sokar, or Mehti; and as the Greek version of it is Methusuphis, it seems indicated that we should read it as Mehti-em-sa-f. Mehti means "Set lord of the East," as he is named with this sign on a tablet in Sinai (G.P.S. 119).



Pyramid, Men-onkh. Saqqara (Rec. xii, 53, 136). Sarcophagus (Rec. xiii, 56). Restored temple of Ne-user-ra (B.G.N. 159). Byblos, vase (A.I.C.R. 1922, Jan.). Maghara, rock tablet (G.P.S. 17).

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Deir Gebrawi, Zau tomb (Rec. xx, 170).
Hat-nub, graffito (F.H. iii, iv).
Abydos, steles (P. Ab. II, xix, xxi; Rec. xxvi, 236).
        plaque (P. Ab. II, xxi, 14).
        vase (P. Ab. II, xxi, 7).
Koptos, decrees (W.D.R. i, ii, iii).
       sculptures (P. Kop. v, 7, 8).
Dendereh, king before Hathor (W.G.A. 42).
El Kab, desert, graffito (S.B.A. 1909, 252).
Hierakonpolis, base of statue (Q.H. II 53).
Elephantine, rock tablet (P.S. 311).
             vase lid (M.D. 54 g).
Granite mortar (C. Mus.).
Limestone jar (C. Mus.; B.R. i, 10, 5).
Vases (C. Mus., B.S.V. 18556, 18695; U.C.
  Coll.; P.S.C. 6, 5; P. Mus. 657).
Cylinders (M.D. 54 f; calcite, B. Mus.).
Scarabs difficult to distinguish from those
   of other kings.
Wooden plaque (Q.S. 1907, 72, pl. v).
Ink writing on favence (Q.S. 1907, 4).
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Fig. 71.—Rosette (G. Coll.).

The pyramid of this king, named Men-onkh, was found at Saqqara in 1881. Its construction is the same as that of the previous pyramids; but the inscriptions are in smaller writing, and are longer. The texts are mainly already known in the other pyramids, and are partly religious, partly of ritual. The walls have been considerably destroyed by treasure-seekers. The granite sarcophagus remains in good condition; and the lid has not been overthrown, but is only pushed aside on to the bench of brickwork which existed in all these pyramids, between the sarcophagus and the wall, to support the lid until the closing of the sarcophagus.

Some prophets of this pyramid are known:—

Adu I Dendereh (P.D.V.).

Adu Khenoboskion (L.D. ii, 113 g).

(L.D. ii, 114 g).

Aba Deir el Gebrawi (A.R. 1893, 14; Rec. xiii, 67; D.G. vii, xviii).

Zau (A.R. 1893, 14; Rec. xiii, 66; xx, 170).

At Wady Maghara is a very fine stele, which was carved in his second year; and as he began his reign at the age of six, it was done during his minority. His mother is prominently placed upon it, in name, in her royal connexion, and in figure; and from the form of her titles it appears as if she were formally regent at the time (G.P.S 17).

At Elephantine is a fine stele adjoining that of king Unas (P.S. 311); this mentions the second Sed festival of the king, agreeing with his long reign, in which he had three or four such festivals.

At Deir el Gebrawi the tomb of Zau the prince is notable (D.G. II, ii-xiv) as his two sisters were the queens of Pepy I, and Zau was the Vizier of Pepy II (B.A.R. 344).



Fig. 72.-Slab from Koptos.

His tomb was with his father prince Zau, "that I might see this Zau perpetually, in order that I might be with him in one place" (B.A.R. 382).

In the alabaster quarry of Hat-nub, opened by Khufu, are many inscriptions of this king; three tablets with his names have writing of several lines, one dated in the sixth year; and a deeply-cut group of the royal names is near the entrance. It is these inscriptions which name the place as Hat-nub (F.H. iii, iv).

At Abydos, Pepy II added some decrees in front of his father's temple (P. Ab. II, xix, xxi, liii). One decree is to exempt the temple serfs from claims for public services, like the decree of Neferarkara.

At Koptos a temple was sculptured with scenes in relief (Fig. 72; P. Kop. v, 7, 8). Decrees were also set up concerning the temple privileges (W.D.R. 6, 53).

Other traces of work remain up to Elephantine, and a Nubian expedition has left its record as far as Tomas, 140

miles above Aswan.

Of private tombs mentioning this king there are several. Mery at Kauamat acted under the orders of Neferkara (L.D. ii, 113 f). At Aswan Herkhuf gives the royal letter about the Deng dancer, and as the boy-king was then only eight years old, the subject was likely to captivate his fancy (S.T. 19). Saben was an official connected with the pyramid (Rec. x, 184); and Nekhu, also at Aswan, has the name of the king in his tomb (S.B.A. x, 37). At Saqqara Saui-khu is priest of the pyramid of the king (M.A.F. i, 199). At Girgeh Sesa was represented in his tomb adoring Nefer-ka-ra (A.Z. xx, 124). And at El Kab a piece of limestone stele names the king (A.Z. xx, 124).

A high lady at the court, Nebt, named also Beba, held offices under this king (M.A. 527); and Khua had a son named Nefer-ka-ra-onkh (M.A. 525).

Of small remains of this king there are a base of a seated figure in alabaster, found at Saqqara (W.G. 215); a large black granite mortar with his name belonged to a king's brother, Amenysenb (G. Mus.). Some scarabs which have been attributed to Pepy II certainly belong to Shabaka of the XXVth dynasty, and to other kings with the common name Neferkara. In many museums are alabaster vases with the cartouche Nefer-ka-ra; probably one or two may be genuine, but most of them have forged names on genuine vases, the very shapes of which show that they were made in the XIXth dynasty rather than in the VIth dynasty.

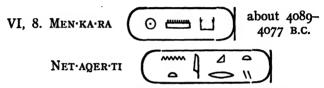
VI. 6. MER·EN·RA about 4000-4080 B.C.



That these two names belong to the same king is certain, as the combined cartouche given above is found in the list of Abydos. In Manetho likewise a Menthesufis succeeds the second Pepy. The Turin papyrus has lost the names of this part, but a fragment with the numerals can be identified by the unique reign of Nefer ka ra, for over ninety years. The following reign is but one year, and probably refers to this king. No monuments or contemporary remains of him are known. The tomb of Hepakhem, a prince of Meir, is known (B.MR. I, 6).



This name occurs next to the above in the Abydos list; but there is no trace of it elsewhere.



This last reign of the dynasty (according to Manetho) is one of the most questionable. Men·ka·ra succeeds Neterkara in the list of Abydos, and no other trace of the name is known. On the other hand, the dynasty closes with Nitokris in Manetho, next after Menthesufis. And the reality of this name is confirmed by the Turin papyrus entry of Netaqerti, on a fragment which may reasonably belong to this period.

The only connexion between Menkara and Netaqerti is provided by a curious error of late times. The third pyramid of Gizch is stated by Manetho to have been built by Nitokris; and Herodotos attributes the same to the beautiful Rhodopis (ii, 134), evidently another version of Nitokris, whom Manetho describes as fair and ruddy. But though the third pyramid has been enlarged, it is certain, from the excellent masonry of the core, from the granite casing of the outside, and from the absence of all inscription inside, that it belongs entirely to the fourth dynasty, and has no connexion with the rubble pyramids of the VIth dynasty at Saqqara. There is only one possible origin before us for this tale. The real builder of the pyramid being Men·ka·ra, he has been confounded with the queen Men·ka·ra of the end of the sixth dynasty; and these tales thus lead us to associate the name Men·ka·ra with that of

Netaqerti or Nitokris, to whom the pyramid is otherwise attributed.

The close of the dynasty appears to have been troublous. According to Herodotos (ii, 100), the brother of Nitokris was slain, and she in turn treacherously avenged him on his murderers. Whether this brother was Meren ra or Neterka ra, there is no evidence. But the former only reigned a single year. It seems that the long reign and great age of Pepy II had allowed disorder to arise; owing to his feebleness, and probably the number of rival claims in various generations of his descendants, the kingdom had become disorganized; and, after a few brief reigns, the dynasty failed, and a long era of confusion followed. Even the close of the dynasty is uncertain, as we shall see in considering the next era.

This dynasty differs from either of those which preceded it. It has neither the simplicity of the IVth nor the priestly character of the Vth dynasty. The ideal of the time was active foreign conquest and exploration. Monuments sprang up in all parts of the country, and a general development of national life appears which was unknown

before.

The art of the time, though becoming more general, is lower in character. The pyramids, instead of being solid masses of stone which rival the hills, are merely heaps of chips and rubble retained by rude walls, and covered with a smooth casing. The tombs of private persons have not the solidity of those of their ancestors. But the execution of small objects is very fine and sumptuous, as in the ivory box and head-rest in the Louvre. We see in this age the regular effects of the diffusion and cheapening of works which were formerly a rare luxury. Yet there is by no means the depraved showiness which marks the works of the later times of the XVIIIth-XIXth dynastics.

#### CHAPTER VI

### SEVENTH TO TENTH DYNASTIES

THE fall of the Old Kingdom, and the turmoil that followed on that, is one of the darkest ages of Egyptian history. In the absence of historical documents, we may be glad of any indications of the changes that occurred. At the close of the VIth dynasty there are found rarely some button-badges, objects which were worn on a string round the neck, and were not mixed with beads or used They have been supposed to be seals, but as ornaments. no impressions of them are known among hundreds of clay sealings; nor are they adapted for sealing, as in some the signs are in relief, or in others choked with glaze; further, the designs are usually repeated one upside down to the other. Such would not be a seal design, as a seal is impressed upright, but would be suitable for wearing when it might be seen any way upward. All of these badges were made by foreigners: out of far more than a hundred not one is like Egyptian work, though often copying Egyptian design, such as the onkh between two falcons (Fig. 73 F). Similar geometrical designs are found at Bismiya in Mesopotamia, in Cilicia, and on a disk from Aleppo (Fig. 73 A, B, C). Such badges continued in use for only a few centuries; those that have been found in recorded graves need not be beyond the VIth and VIIth dynasties (P.D., p. 10; G.M. 33, xxxix; P.D.P. xxv, W 90, W 165, W 175-6, Y 110, pp. 39, 40; P.H.A. xiv, None were found in the IXth-Xth dynasty cemeteries of Herakleopolis or Dendereh. The sites are at Kafr Ammar (40 miles south of Cairo), Mahasna, Abydos, Diospolis, and Dendereh, while others of this same class are found in Nubia (A.S.N. III, xli, 22-26).

The conclusion seems to be that an invasion of North Syrian people,—the Amorites of Prof. Clay,—swept into Egypt at the close of the VIth dynasty, copied Egyptian designs, and permeated the country as far as Upper Egypt. They do not seem to have changed the system of the country to their own, and they ruled in the VIIth and VIIIth dynasties. The IXth and Xth dynasties put an end to this dominion; and, by their centering at Herakle-opolis, they probably were Westerners advancing from the Fayum.

The documents remaining are, above all, the list of

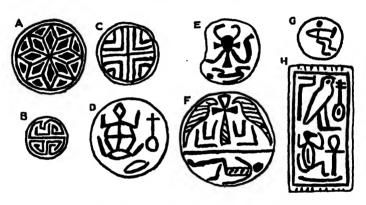


Fig. 73.—Button Badges and Prism, VIIth-VIIIth Dynastics.

A. As from Bismiya, Mesopotamia. B. As swastika from Bismiya. C. As from Aleppo and Cilicia. D. River turtle. E. Hathor head and snakes over an enemy. F. Falcons and onkh over enemy. G. From Abydos. H. Copies of signs by a foreigner.

Abydos, which, not containing Khety of the IXth, is probably of the VIIth and VIIIth dynasties; secondly, the fragments of the Turin papyrus, very uncertain in position about this part; thirdly, the list of Eratosthenes, with names selected far apart and not clearly identified; fourth, the bald lengths of dynasties in Manctho, varying much in the versions; lastly, the various objects that may be identified.

A reading of a group on the 48th fragment of the Turin papyrus has lately given a fresh clue to the arrangement in relation to the list of Abydos. The relation of the two important pieces, 43 and 48, proposed here, is not contradicted by any of the details of the writing, either of the kings' list, or of the accounts on the back of it. The list of Abydos has but 15 names to correspond with 5+18=23 kings, the total given by Manetho; so 8 names have been there omitted. The arrangement seems to be somewhat of the following order, with blanks for the omitted names. The personal names are here placed below each, and recessed.

| Papyrus.      | ABYDOS LIST.   | Monuments.  |  |
|---------------|--|---|--|
| ka•Hunu       | Men·ka·ra<br>Nefer·ka·ra<br>Nefer·ka·ra  | Neferkara   | End of VI<br>VII<br>2  |
|               | O<br>Zed·ka·ra<br>Shema  |   | 3  |
|               | 0  | Khua?   | 5  |
| ka·ra<br>ndty | of dynasty O Nefer-ka-ra Khendu O Hermeren Snefer-ka Ne-ka-ra Nefer-ka-ra Telulu Her-nefer-ka Nefer-ka-ra Pepy-senb Snefer-ka Onnu ikau-ra Nefer-kau-ra Her-nefer-ka |   | 75 years<br>VIII<br>• • 2<br>3 4<br>5 5<br>6<br>7 8<br>9 10<br>11<br>12<br>13<br>14<br>15<br>16<br>18  |
|               | erti<br>ka·Hunu<br>es  | erti Men·ka·ra ka·Hunu Nefer·ka·ra Nefer·ka·ra Neby O Zed·ka·ra Shema O Mary at end of dynasty ka·ra O Nefer·ka·ra ndty Khendu O  Y Hermeren Snefer·ka Ne·ka·ra Nefer·ka·ra Telulu Her·nefer·ka Nefer·ka Onnu ikau·ra Nefer·kau·ra Her·nefer·ka | erti Men ka ra ka Hunu Nefer ka ra Nefer ka ra Neby O Zed ka ra Shema O Khua?  Aray at end of dynasty ka ra O Nefer ka ra ndty Khendu O Nefer ka ra ndty Khendu O Nefer ka ra Nefer ka Ne ka ra Nefer ka Ne ka ra Nefer ka ra Telulu Her nefer ka Nefer ka ra Pepy senb Snefer ka Onuu O Nefer ka ra |

Such is the most likely arrangement of the known facts. The piece 43 of the Turin papyrus beginning with Netagerti must be the close of the VIth dynasty. That links with Men·ka·ra and the two Nefer names following at Abydos. The summary at the top of piece 48 must be at the close of the VIIth dynasty, and the . . . ndty name links it with Neferkara Khendu of the Abydos list. Then there must be omissions at Abydos of the 1st and 3rd names of this piece; and somewhere else in the VIIIth dynasty there must be 4 other kings omitted at Abydos, according to the total of 18 stated by Manetho. These blanks are placed here at the end, but might be anywhere in the series. Opposite them are placed some names of this age which cannot be fixed. The whole dynasty is taken at the shortest version of 100 years, though 146 is perhaps the more likely reading.

The personal names would agree with a Semitic Syrian origin: Hunu = hōn, "wealthy"; Neby = nabi, "the inspired"; Shema = shema, "to be high" (Arab. see Shemim, "heavens," Heb.); Telulu = telul, exalted; 'Annu = 'anan, the divine "cloud."

We cannot suppose that this Syrian movement occupied Upper Egypt immediately, and just after the VIth dynasty we meet with

VII. A. UAZ·KA·RA SEKHER-SENY Demz-ab-taui

about 4077-4060 B.C.

A stele of privileges for Koptos was granted by this king (W.D.R. iv, ix); and he occupied Nubia, as seen on a rock inscription at Umbarakāb (W.L.N. xix, 2). Scarabs also are known of him (P.S.C. xx, AK.; H.C.S. 118, 234-8).

between ( o ţ ⊔ VII, I, NEFER·KA·RA 4077to VIII. o. 3910 B.C.

Some of the many scarabs bearing this common name, apparently by their style belong to this age. They show

the first introduction of the symmetrical designs, probably due to the Syrian influence, as seen on the button-badges.





Fig. 74.—Earliest symmetrical scarabs. (B. Mus.) (F.P. Coll.)

#### VII, 5. KHUA

about 4021-4007 B.C.

This name occurs in a tomb (A.S. xii, 128) along with a private name Pepy-nekht at Dara opposite Manfalut; it is probably soon after the VIth dynasty, and it may be placed provisionally where a name has been omitted in the Abydos list. Perhaps queen Khuat, whose tomb is at Saqqareh, may be connected with this reign. (M.M. 207.)

## VIII, 2. NEFER·KA·RA KHENDU

about 4000-3995 B.C.

This name Khendu on the list of Abydos seems to be the same as a personal name . . . NDTY after a destroyed cartouche in T.P. A hæmatite scarab has the disk kh for the initial sign, as in the list; the cylinder below has the rising-sun sign.

This cylinder of Khendu or Khondy is of green jasper, obviously Syrian in design. The king is in Egyptian dress, but a Syrian before him receives onkh, life, from the king, and an Egyptian in the background is obviously an inferior subject. The



Fig. 75.—Khondy. Green Jasper Cylinder, Egypt.

guilloche band behind the king is an early device, occurring on the tablet of Dudu nine reigns before Naramsin. Here we see clearly a king of Syria holding rule over Egypt; agreeing to the Amorite kingdom of North Syria which has lately been recognized as having ruled in early

times. This shows that the button-users were not only immigrants, but that they captured the land.

VIII, 3. SNEFERONKHIRA PEPY III

3995-3990 B.C. Scarab (P.S.C. x).

This name is omitted from the Abydos list, but it ends in y in the Turin papyrus. As the style of the scarab is of good bold work, and the name Pepy links it with the VIth dynasty, it seems best to place it here provisionally.

VIII, 5. SNEFER·KA

This name is on a leaf of gold, with that of the next king, as on the Abydos list. (B.M. 8444.)

VIII. 6. RA·EN·KA



Gold leaf (B. Mus. 8444).

Plaque and scarab (P.S.C. 7, 9, 1-2).

Scarabs (P.S.C. xx AL ? ; P. Mus., W.S.B. 213 ; B.M., see P.Sc. 105-9).



Fig. 76.—Scarab (P. Mus.).

One of these scarabs has the twist or guilloche also seen on the cylinder of Khendu, an entirely Asiatic design.

VIII, 7. NEFER·KA·RA TELULU

3975-3965 в.с.

One seal of this king is known with the name Telulu, as in the Abydos list: also nefer, and the kneeling man with upraised arms as ka, for Nefer kara; also with ha neb. "lord of the north." (P.S.C. 7, 10.) This agrees with the Syrian power of this dynasty. A writing tablet of the XXIInd dynasty has a version of the name in a cartouche. reading Ra-neser-i . . . Tera (Berl. A.Z. xxxii, 127).

VIII. 8. HER-NEFER-KAU BAU·RA

3965-3955 B.C.

Horus NETER-BAU

A stele decree of this king was found at Koptos in favour of a high official, Shema (W.D.R. 82). The name A antef first appears here. The second name is given by a stone from Quft (S.B.A. 1914, 47).

VIII. 15? HER-NEFER-SA 3930-Horus MER TAUL 3920 B.C.

Hat-nub graffito (Rec. xx, 72). Tomas, three inscriptions (W.L.N. lviii). Alabaster block, U.C. (P.S.C. x). Papyrus Cairo No. 8 (Pap. Bul. i, 39).

This king certainly had a wide rule from Middle Egypt to far above Aswan, where he made expeditions into Nubia. The type of name is akin to the Hor- baster. (U.C. Coll.) names, beginning in the Vth dynasty, and



frequent in the VIIIth, the two Her nefer ka names of viii, 8 and 13 being the most like this.

VIII, 16? KHUAQER Horus MERUT

3920-3915 B.C.

This name is on a lintel found at Abydos (P. Ab. II, xxxii, 1). It was read Ra·uaqer, but Khu·aqer seems more probable. It may refer to a god Khu, parallel to the goddess Khut, "the protectress." It probably belongs to this age, but might be of the XIVth dynasty.

VIII, 17? HER'NEFER'KHNUM

3915-3910 B.C.

This name in the quarry of Hat nub (F.H. xv, 7) appears to be of the same group as the other Her . . . names of this dynasty.

Before entering on the next stage, we should make a review of the various movements between the VIth and XIIth dynasties. An influx from North Syria had brought in Chaldean design, seen in the button-badges and guilloches, and from the cylinder of Khandy it seems that a Syrian king ruled Egypt as a secondary kingdom. Of the personal names of such kings a few are given in addition to the Egyptian names which they adopted; such are Khendu, Teruru or Telulu, and Annu; these seem to belong to the Egyptian khend, to stride, and the Semitic talal, "exalted," and onau, the pillar of "cloud."

#### 126 SEVENTH TO TENTH DYNASTIES

Another invasion took advantage of the weakness of Egypt, coming from the south. These people do not



Fig. 78.—Black Granite Sphinx from Tanis, El Kab?

appear in any records, and all their monuments have been reappropriated. They left, however, a most striking style of sculpture, in the sphinxes which were later removed to



Fig. 79.—Head of Galla Woman.

Tanis, but which seem originally to have come from El Kab, where a piece of such a sphinx has been found. The type is closely like that of the Galla as shown in Figs. 78 and 70.

The evidence that all the earlier sculptures of Tanis collected were there by Ramessu II seems clear (A.E. 1920, 105); and that these sphinxes are earlier than the Hyksos is certain by those kings having appropriated them. No period seems so likely for them as the VIIth to Xth dynasties (A.E. 1916. 188-192). The type was heavily bearded, with bushy hair.



Fig. 80.—Black-granite fishofferers, Tanis.



Fig. 81.—Bust from the Fayum (C. Mus.).

#### SEVENTH TO TENTH DYNASTIES

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The resemblance of the XIIth-dynasty portraits to the Galla sphinx type has been accepted as indicating their origin. Now (1924) it is found that the tombs of the Uahka princes at Qau are arranged in a series of chambers entirely upon the plan of Nubian temples. Further, one of the tombs has been excavated by granite workers from Aswan, indicating a control of the south. These connec-



Fig. 82.—Head of statue from Bubastis. Later type developed from the Galla.

tions point to the Galla invasion being the origin of the Uahka family. This further is linked to the XIIth dynasty by the son of Uahka being named Senusert. This name is again found in the IXth dynasty on a stele with a man named after Khety II (C. Mus. 20457).

A third intrusion took place by the Khety family of the IXth and Xth dynasties, who centred at Herakleopolis.

This capital points to their having come from the west through the Fayum province; pouring through the Sedment gap, they settled on the western canal, on a much older centre which was probably due to earlier invasions of the same kind (P.H.S. ix.). They were a bearded people with narrow whiskers and moustaches, as seen on the cartonnage head-covers of the bodies. These people



Fig. 83.—Head of statue from Bubastis (C. Mus.).

had a long struggle with the southern race, who finally crushed them, as we shall see below.

All of the perennial enemies of Egypt had poured into the land, from the north-east, the south, and the west, just as in the VIIth cent. B.C. the Assyrian and Scythian, the Ethiopian, and the Libyan of Sais struggled over the helpless Egyptians. The history of Egypt from the earliest age has always been the same; each great age has been the product of an able race of invaders.

#### THE NINTH DYNASTY

In the IXth dynasty there are four names of kings, agreeing with Manetho's number of kings, about whose order there is no direct evidence. From the list of Eratosthenes the order is given:—

IV Saofis Khufu. Saofis TT Khofra. Moskheres Men·kau·ra. Mousthis Im·hotep? VI **Pammes** Pepy I. Pepy II (100 years). Apappous (of 100 years) Ekheskosokaras Netagerti. Nitokris Myrtaios VII Dad·ka·shema·ra. Thuosimares Thirillos (or Thinillos) VIII Tererel (or Telulu). Semphrükrates Seneferka. Khūthēr (Akhthoes, Man.) IX Khety. Meures Mervabra.

Now it seems pretty certain that "Khuther Taurus, the tyrant" of Eratosthenes, is the "Akhthoes who was more dreadful than all who went before him, who did evil throughout Egypt, and, being seized with madness, was destroyed by a crocodile," as recorded by Manetho. Thus Mery ab ra was a successor of Khety the founder. In the Petrograd papyrus Merkara is the son of the speaker, and Mer . . . ra is a predecessor. As the only other Mer name in this dynasty is Mery ab ra, he is probably the predecessor. There remains then Neb kau ra and Uah ka ra for the speaker's name and for that of the founder Khety. As Uah ka ra had a full funeral inscription he is less likely to have been the founder. Thus we reach the probable order as follows:—

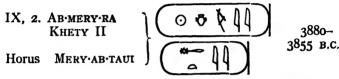
IX, I. Neb·kau·ra Khety 3907-3880 b.c. 2. Mery·ab·ra Khety 3880-3855 b.c. 3. Uah·ka·ra Khety 3855-3830 b.c. 4. Mery·ka·ra Khety 3830-3807 b.c.

The fragment 47 of the Turin papyrus cannot agree with these names, and probably belongs to the Xth dynasty, along with 59, giving 14 names out of the 19 stated for that dynasty.

IX, 1. NEB·KAU·RA KHETY I 3907-3880 в.с.

Tell Retabeh, weight (P.S.C. 9, 2). Tale of the Peasant (P.E.T. i, 69).

This name is given on the weight in one cartouche as nesut bati Khety-neb-kau, onkh zetta. (P.H.I. xxxiii, 4, p. 32.) It occurs in the Tale of the Peasant as Neb-kau ra, another instance of facultative Ra. The work of the weight is good, in red jasper, and is likely to be early in the dynasty.



Meir, ebony staff (A.S. x, 185). Assiut, Brazier (P. Mus.). Aswan, graffito (Acad. 1892, p. 333). Scarabs (P.S.C. 9, 1; P. Mus.). Papyrus, Petrograd (J.E.A. 1914, 22).



Fig. 84.—Scarab (P. Mus.).

These two names are known to belong to one king by the ebony staff (which gives the Horus and Nebti names the same) and also by the fragments of some copper openwork, which may have been parts of a brazier or some round object (Fig. 85). They are now in the Louvre (S.B.A. xiii, 429). There is also a scarab of this king (P.M.), closely like those above attributed to Ra·en·ka and Nefer·ka·ra of the preceding dynasty (see above). And his name occurs on the rocks at the First Cataract.

The Petrograd papyrus is a later copy of a composition of the IXth dynasty, reciting the instructions given by his father to the king Ka·mery·ra, like the later instructions of Amenemhat. It shows that the speaker had a predecessor named Ra·mer... (line 74). He states that the relations with the south were friendly; that he pacified the west as far as the Fayum; that the north-east was colonized with garrisons of picked labourers; and that

the Syrian Aamu were a feckless nuisance, like the Bedawy now. He enjoins the fortifying of the north, and ends

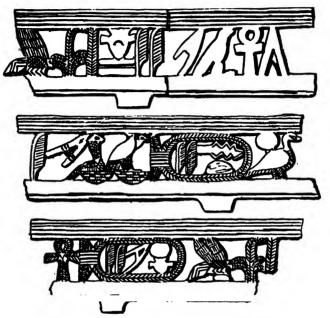


Fig. 85.—Copper-work, brazier of Khety (P. Mus.).

with pious exhortations on the moral aspect of government. (J.E.A. 1914, 22.)

#### IX, 3. UAH·KA·RA KHETY III

3855-3830 B.C.

This king is only known by his funeral formula having been copied on the coffin of Nefera, a private man, retaining the king's names by mistake (Rec. xxiv, qo).

The name of this king seems to have started a fashion of the name or phrase Uah-ka, "may the ka flourish." It is found frequently added to private names—like māot-kheru, or uahem onkh (P.S.C., pl. XI, A-Z). It became the name of princes of Qau, and of a prince whose altar is

at Memphis (P.M. I, iv), and the variant *Uah onkh* (like Antefa) serves to date the king Shenes.

# IX, 4. KA·MERY·RA (O L) \$ 3830-3807 B.C.

The Pyramid *Uaz asut*, Saqqareh? (steles 138-9 Cairo; Q.S. 1906, 23).

Siut, in tomb of Khety (G.S. xiii). Palette (P. Mus., see below). Coffin of Apa·onkhu (Berl. M. 7796).

The pyramid had priests named Apa and Khuy, whose steles were found at Saqqareh near another inscription

with a name Khety. (Q.S. 1906, pls. xiii, xiv, xvii.) The history of the time is mostly recorded at Siut (M.D.C. 455-8). The prince Khety of Siut held the southern border, and drove the Theban princes back. But Herakleopolis itself was not safe, and expelled Merykara, who fled to his faithful vassal at Siut. Prince Khety assembled a great fleet, and restored the king. The immense rock tombs of Siut. Dronkeh, and Rifeh show how rich and important this principality then was. The enormous quantity of stone removed was quarried out regularly, doubtless for the palaces in the plain.

This palette in the Louvre was found with the copper brazier of Khety I, probably in a tomb near Siut. The coffin of Apa·onkhu, who was a high official of Merykara, is at Berlin. The activity of the Theban princes recorded in this reign led on to the destruction of the Herakleopolite line and triumph of the Antefs.

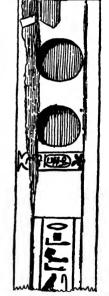


Fig. 86.—Wooden palette (P. Mus.) (lower end omitted)

#### X. SHENES

Three scarabs of this king are known, in the B.Mus. (H.C.S. 208), Golenischeff, and Grant Coll. (N.Sc. x, 28). Compare the adjunct uahonkh with the Horus uahonkh of the next dynasty.

#### CHAPTER VII

#### ELEVENTH DYNASTY

HE XIth dynasty started in the south long before it emerged as ruling Egypt. Early in the Xth dynasty the nomarch Antef began to feel for independence. His son, the Horus Uah onkh, took the term Uah probably from being born under Uah ka ra or some king who followed that new fashion of names. By Uah-onkh Antef the Khety dynasty were thrust back northward to the Serpent nome, 110 miles north of Thebes. The southern power continually pushed further until the sixth king Neb hepu ra took the title of "uniter of both lands." when the XIth dynasty became the united power. Manetho dates 43 years of rule, down to the 16th year of Amenemhat I, or starting 27 years before the XIIth dynasty, so if possible this date should come well within the reign of "the uniter." There is no ground for assigning 28 years to the reign of Sonkh-ka-ra; his dating does not exceed 8 years, and the theory of the Sed festival being at the 30th year of the crown prince does not work in other cases (P. Sin. 177). There are dates in five reigns. but no complete length of reign stated. Beside the probability of the reign of Neb-hepu-ra ending less than 27 years before the end of the dynasty, there is another limit by the stele of Antefager, whose great-grandfather was a scribe under Uah onkh. Antefager may have been 70 when he set this up in the 33rd year of Senusert I, and his ancestor may have been scribe (say at 23), just at the end of the reign of Uah onkh; and we may take 90 or 100 years for three generations of perhaps younger sons. The normal eldest-son generation of the kings is usually 22 years. Another datum is that Neb hepu ra and Neb.

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taui ra are each shown with their mothers on monuments; this points to their accession at about 14, before their marriage. This age compels us to take Neb-taui ra and Sonkh-ka ra as brothers. Taking all these data, together with the minimum lengths for the reigns, there is not much variation likely from the following family history; allowing generations of 22 years, and granting that the heir of Mentuhetep III died during that reign, and was succeeded by his two sons, the first being under the guardianship of his mother.

|               |   |   |   |   | Born. | Succeeded. | Died  |
|---------------|---|---|---|---|-------|------------|-------|
| Antef I       |   |   |   |   | 3760  | at 27      | at 45 |
| ,, II .       |   |   |   |   | 3738  | 23         | 73    |
| " III .       | • | • | • |   | 3716  | 51         | 56    |
| Mentuhetep I. |   |   |   |   | 3694  | 34         | 49    |
| ,, II         |   |   |   |   | 3672  | 27         | 32    |
| " III         |   |   |   |   | 3650  | 10         | 58    |
| brog (IV      |   |   |   |   | 3606  | 14         | 18    |
| " bros. { v   | • | • |   | • | 3604  | 16         | 25    |

The data will not allow of more than a few years' variation from such an outline. The accessions at ages from 10 to 51, and deaths at 18 to 73, are quite likely limits. The arrangement of the XIth dynasty will therefore be—

|  |               |   |   |   | Years. | B.C.                   |
|--|---------------|---|---|---|--------|------------------------|
| Antef (noma                            |               |   | • | • |        | 3733-3715              |
| ·· • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • | onkh) II .    |   | • | • | 50 + x | 3715-3665<br>3665-3660 |
| Mentuhetep                             | (Sonkh ab tau |   | : | : | 14 + * | 3660-3645              |
|  | (Neb·hapt·ra) |   | • | • |        | 3645-3640              |
|  | (Neb·hepu·ra) |   |   | • | 46 + x | 3640-3592              |
| ,,                                     | (Neb·taui·ra) |   |   | • | 2+x    | 3592-3588              |
| ,,                                     | (Sonkh·ka·ra) | V | • |   | 8+x    | 3588-3579              |

Thus are reconciled (a) the independence of the dynasty 16 years before the death of Neb-hepu·ra, (b) the three generations of scribes in 92 years, an average generation of 31 years, (c) the two royal mothers with sons of 10 and 14, and (d) the minimum lengths of the reigns.

## 

The stele of this prince was found near the Antef pyramids at Thebes, and a portion of it is here copied. It shows him to have been a ruler of the South under some king not named. He is entitled "The hereditary noble, ruler of the Thebaid, satisfying the desire of the king, keeper of the gates of the frontier, pillar of the South, the administrator, making to live his two lands, chief of the prophets, devoted to the great god, Antefa." It



Fig. 87.—Prince Antef (part of stele, G. Mus.).

appears to be Antefa who makes the two lands to live, and he ruled the Thebaid and the South, and provided for the country, probably by irrigation (see photo Ms. G. 34, and M.D. 50 b). This chief was therefore ruling under the Herakleopolitan kings of the tenth dynasty. The style of his work is rough and formless, but retains somewhat of the largeness of the Old kingdom, and of the character of scenes of that time. A private stele names this prince, now at Strasburg (S.S.S. I, II, pl. xi).

A votive statue was dedicated to him by Senusert I (seated, cross-legged, and now headless); it was found at

Karnak (L.S.K. 42005). His mother is there recorded as named Akua.



Pyramid, Qurneh.

,, stelc (M.D. 49).

Qurneh, Zara stele (P.Q. iii).

" Thetha stele (E.S.B. 9, viii).

, Antef stele (E.S.B. 9, vii).

Elephantine stele (P.S. 310).



Fig. 88.—Stele, Elephantine.

The brick pyramid of this king contained a stele (now in C. Mus.) representing the king standing with four dogs. The stele was broken away at the upper part when found by Mariette, and since then it was broken up by the natives, but partly recovered by Maspero. Hence the full name and titles of the king are lost, along with the top, and we do not know the Ra name of this king. The stele was made for the "Hor Uahonkh, the king (An oa) living anew." And, further, before the king is a line naming the usual offerings for the "Hor Uahonkh, the king (Antefoa)." It has been supposed that these two names must refer to different kings, but the construction does not seem to imply that; and as in no dynasty did two kings take the same ka name (or Horus name), it is very unlikely that the name Uah onkh can belong to different persons; rather the An of the first cartouche is an abbreviation of Antef. The stele is dated in his 50th year.

The Abbott papyrus mentions this tomb the first of all in the inquest on the condition of the royal tombs under Ramessu X. It records: "The monument of king Sa ra An·oa, which is at the north of the temple of Amenhotep of the terrace. This tomb is injured on the surface opposite

the spot where the tablet is placed; on the tablet is the image of the king, standing, having between his feet his dog named Behukaa. Examined on that day, it was

found in good condition."

The subject of the stele is the king standing with four hounds, which bear Libyan names with Egyptian interpretations—"the gazelle," "the greyhound," "the black," and "the fire-pot." A servant, bearing also a Berber name, Tekenru, stands behind the king. Unhappily all the top of the slab is lost, and with it half of the inscription. We glean, however, that Antef had provided libations, built and endowed the temples, and established offerings and services; he had cut a canal; he had captured the nome of Abydos and opened its fortresses; he had glorified and benefited his city, and had left the succession to his son; and in the fiftieth year this tablet was established for the Hor Uahonkh, the king, son of the sun, Ana. A fine rock tablet of his adjoins those of earlier kings at Elephantine (P.S. 310) (see Fig. 88).

A private stele of a governor of the palace, Zara, found at Qurneh, mentions his fighting with the house of Khety in the domain of Thinis, and his protecting the south land down to the serpent nome opposite to Ekhmim. The work is very rude and shows no trace of the finer style of the end of the dynasty (P.Q. p. 17, ii and iii). Another private stele, of Thetha, the chief Treasurer (B.A.R. I, 423 A), mentions holding Thinis, and his services under the next reign (B.Mus., E.S.B. 9, viii). A third stele of greater importance, though of very rude work, records the services of an official Antef, under Uah-onkh and his two successors. Also a stele of Henun gives the same order (A.Z. xlii, 133). These fix the arrangement of the

earlier part of the dynasty.

## XI, 3. HER NEKHT-NEB-TEP-NEFER ANTEF III

3665-3660 в.с.

This king is stated in the succession after Uah·onkh on the steles of Thetha, Antef and Henun (E.S.B. viii, vii; A.Z. xlii, 133). His tomb is mentioned on the stele of Ada·nekht (L.M.R. 20502). No monuments or objects of this king are known.

#### XI, 4. Her·Sonkh·ab·taui Mentuhetep I

3660-3645 B.C.

This king is stated in the succession after Antef III, on the steles of Antef and of Henun (E.S.B. vii; A.Z. xlii, 133). On the Antef stele is a mention of a revolt of the city of Thinis in the 14th year; this gives a *minimum* for the reign, and shows that the conquest of Abydos by Uah-onkh had not been exceeded, and was not too firmly held.

#### XI, 5. Nep-hapt-ra Mentuhetep II Horus Neter Hezt

3645-3640 в.с.

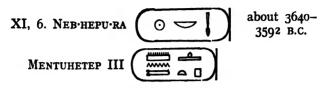
Dendereh, chapel, C. Mus. (A.S. 1917, 226). Deir el Bahri, Shrines (N.E. II, xi-xx; B.M.M. 1921, ii). Gebelcyn, temple, C. Mus. (Rec. xiv, 26; xvi, 42). Konosso, rock tablet (L.D. ii, 150 b).

The chapel from Dendereh bears scenes of the king smiting the Aamu, and it has added inscriptions of Merneptah, showing that it was long visible and respected. At Deir el Bahri he built a row of shrines, covering the burials of the priestesses of Hathor, at least one of whom was his queen, Oăshyt (N.E. I, xvii E; II, xviii A). This row of shrines was afterwards incorporated awkwardly in the wall around the pyramid of his successor; they were for the priestesses Oăshyt, Sădhe, Kăuat, Kemsat, Hen. hent and Mayt (N.E. II, 6). The occurrences of this king's name on the shrines are in N.E. I, xvii E = II, xviii; II, xi, xx. The burial pits are in the court on the other side of the wall. The finest coffin and sarcophagus of Oăshyt, with the statuette and mummy of the queen, was found by Winlock (B.M.M. 1921, ii).

The names Neter-hezt and Neb-hapt-ra are united on the Dendereh shrine, on a stone found at Thebes (N.E. I, 7), and on a shrine at Deir el Bahri (N.E. II, xi).

The temple at Gebeleyn was of fine limestone, and had scenes of the negroes, Asiatics, and Libyans, taken captive by the king. The rock tablet at Konosso has the Horus name, and the cartouche mis-read as Neb-hetep in L.D.

ii, 150 b; it is evidently in bad condition by C.M.I. p. 73, 44. Other rock tablets may refer to this king or others of the dynasty.



Horus and Nebti SMA-TAUI

This king has been confused with the last, owing to the similarity of the names. This is written with the steering-oar, which may be read hepu; the last king is with the square, reading hapt (or hept). It is well to keep the slight difference of readings in order to distinguish them. That they are separate kings is proved by the difference of Horus names. Both built in the first temple of Deir el Bahri; the previous king is only found named on the shrines of the priestesses. The reasoning of Somers Clarke as to these shrines being later than the temple has been reversed by Winlock's observations (B.M.M. 1921, ii.).

Pyramid, Akhet-asut, Thebes (M.A. 605, N.E.). Temple, Thebes (N.E.), see Abbott papyrus. Fragment from temple (A.S. vii, 128). Temple foundation deposits (Winlock. 1922). Abydos, temple, P. Ab. II, 14, xxiv, xxv. Dendereh, cylinder (A.S. xi, 170). Fig. 89.—Scarab Gebeleyn, reliefs (Rec. xl, 26). (B. Mus.). Shatt-er-rigal (P.S. 489, 394, 443). Aswan, titles (L.D. ii, 149 b). Elephantine, rock inscriptions, 41 yr. (P.S. 213, 243). Altar (C.O.E. ii, 78 = G.L.R. i, 230). Stele of Meru, T. Mus. (L. cat. T. 117). Menat (of XXVIth dyn.) (S.B.A. 1887, 181). Scarabs, B. Mus. (P. Sc. 164); P. Mus. Gold heart, P. Mus. (P. Sc. 163). Later-Sinai, group of kings (P. Sin. Fig. 128). Karnak stele, xviii? (L.S.K. lxxii). Ramesseum (L.D. iii, 163). Altar at Marseille (C.R. 86). Mother-Aoh (P.S.C. 489).

The temple of this king was in the southern part of the great bay of Deir el Bahri at Thebes. It was cleared in

1903-7 (N.E. I, II, III), and much of the sculptures widely scattered by thieves, without a record.

The system of the structure is unusual, and not certainly determined. It seems to be likely that a small pyramid 60 feet wide was set upon a high base of 23 feet; this base was surrounded by a triple colonnade, surrounded by a wall 138 feet square; this again stood above an outer double row of pillars. Such a form would agree somewhat to the pictures of Theban tombs with pyramid tops in the XVIIIth dynasty. But the difficulty is, that from the casing, which would consist of about 800 blocks, not a single chip of the pyramid angle has been found. The sloping-faced blocks are awkward material for a later builder, and the acute edges would naturally break away, so it is very difficult to suppose that there was a pyramid here. Either it was never completed, or it may have been faced with slabs, parallel to the slope, and so providing very few pyramid angles. A way led into the triple colonnade, and on going round the pyramid basis the enclosure wall was seen to incorporate the six shrines of the priestesses of Hathor built by the previous king. The door led out at the back to a court backing against the cliff. Columns stood round this, and in the middle was a sloping passage in the rock, leading to a chamber, in which was a shrine of alabaster, and many fragments of funeral offerings. No trace of a body or coffin was found, and hence some suppose that this was only a shrine for worship, and not the actual tomb. At the back of the court is a recess in which stood the funeral false-door. Part of this in red granite still lies before the recess. Later there were restorations of the temple by Senusert III, Ramessu II, and Saptah (N.E. I, xxiv; II, v, x). The fragments of scenes show Libyan auxiliaries helping to conquer Aamu and Mentiu. The wars were therefore eastern, and not western. At Abydos temple scenes in brown sandstone were found, and red granite altars (P. Ab. II, 14). At Gebeleyn parts of a building were found. The finest monument is the tablet (Fig. 90) carved on the sandstone rocks of a valley about four miles below Silsileh, known as Shatt-er-rigal, or Soba Rigaleh. This shows a colossal figure of Neb-hepu-ra standing, with a smaller figure of sa ra Antef facing him. This lesser personage is supposed to be a vassal, as he has no title of royal son. Possibly the Antefs are one family, overcome by the Mentuhetep family. If so, this Antef would be the IIIrd or a son of his, a vassal during 20 years of Mentuhetep I and II, and here appearing as vassal at the accession of Neb·hepu·ra Mentuhetep III. This was carved early in the reign, as the king has his mother behind him. Behind the vassal Antef is his chancellor Khety.

A tablet of Mererty (P.S. 243), a kherp chief of the Heliopolitan nome, was cut in the forty-first year at Aswan. This was carved doubtless on the same expedition as the

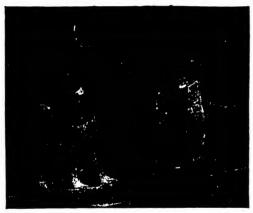


Fig. 90.-Figures at Shatt-er-rigal.

other tablet of that year, naming an expedition to Wawat, or Lower Nubia.

An altar of this reign shows two figures of the Nile offering, and the names and titles of the king repeated: it is described by Chabas from a paper impression by Prisse (C.O.E. ii, 78). Contemporary private works also record this king. In Turin is a large family tablet of Meru, dated in the forty-sixth year of the king, which is the highest recorded year of his reign. Another tablet of his time (in P.M.) is of Mertisen (L.A. ix; Pr. M. vii; S.B.A.T. v, 555), who was a chief artist, and describes his skill. He "knew the mystery of the divine word, an

artist skilled in his art. I know what belongs to it, the sinking waters, the weighings done for the reckoning of accounts, how to produce the forms of going forth and returning. so that the limb may go to its place. I know the walking of the image of man, the carriage of a woman. the two arms of Horus, the twelve circles of the injurious (the hours of the nightly passage of the sun), the contemplating the eye without an equal which affrights the wicked " (a play on his name, which is "the two eyes which are equal"), "the poising of the arm to bring the hippopotamus low, the going of the runner. I know the making of amulets which enable us to go without the fire giving its flame on us, or without the flood washing us away. No one succeeds in it but I alone, and the eldest son of my body. God has decreed him to excel in it, and I have seen the perfections of his hands in the work of chief artist in every kind of precious stones, of gold and silver, of ivory and ebony." This curious description of the various branches of his art throws some light on the different subjects usually set to students for practice. First, the figures in slow action, then the differences of the male and female figure, then mythological subjects, then figures in rapid action, and, lastly, the trade secrets of the potency of amulets.

A stele of Tetu from Abydos names the pyramid (C. Mus., L.M.R. 20088). A stele of Antef prince of Hermonthis names the king (A.Z. lii, 128). A stele of Onmerts names Amen ra and Neb hepu ra as the gods (Rec. xiv, 21). Later references to Neb hepu ra prove how much honoured he was as a restorer of the kingdom. On the statue of Amenemhat (F. Mus.; S. Cat. F. i, 192) there is the usual formula addressed to the royal ka of Neb hepu ra, as to a deity. Senusert III erected a fine stele in honour of Neb hepu ra and Amen in the king's temple (N.E. I, xxiv). In tombs of the XVIIIth dynasty at Thebes, Khobekht adores him with the kings of that age (L.D. iii, 2 a), and Anher-khoui does the same (L.D. iii, 2 d). In the XIXth dynasty the libation table at Marseille bears his name with those of later kings, and in the Ramesseum he is honoured with Mena and Ahmes I as one of the great kings in the procession of figures. There is a question about the Hor nub name. It appears as qa-shuti in N.E.

II, x F, if that belongs to this king, but as *khenti hor* in P. Ab, II. xxv.

Of small remains there are remarkably few. Only a gold heart (in the Louvre) and one beautifully-carved scarab (B.M.) can be attributed to his time. Of later work there is, however, a green glazed *menat* with written inscription of this king, probably made in the XXVIth dynasty (S.B.A. ix, 181). His queen is said (M.A.F. i, 134) to be Temem, who is otherwise said to be an unclassed queen (A.Z. xxi, 77).

The deep tomb shaft containing a sed heb statue at Thebes (Bab el Hosan) is probably of this king, but there is no distinction added to the name of Mentuhetep on

this, or several other remains.



Inscriptions, Hammamat (C.M.H. 1, 40, 55, 105, 110, 113, 191, 192, 241).

Scarabs (P.S.C. 11, 5, 1-4).

Mother—Queen Aom (L.D. ii, 149 f).



Fig. 91.—Scarab (P. Mus.).

All that we know of this king is from the inscriptions cut by the working parties in the quarries of Hammamat. We find that in his second year a Sed festival of Sirius' rising took place; another instance which shows that these festivals were then at fixed astronomical dates, and not dependent on the years of the reign. Most of these inscriptions relate to the party who prepared the royal sarcophagus, under the direction of the noble, the vizier Amenemhat, in the second year of the king's reign. They are all dated in the month Paophi, in the second year. The first tablet records a marvel of how a gazelle ran up toward the army, to the rock near where they were, and brought forth her young there, whereat they caught and sacrificed her (C.M.H. IIO). This is placed by the side

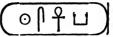
of a tablet of Neb·taui·ra offering to Min, dated on the thirteenth day (C.M.H. 112). On the fifteenth day is dated a great tablet set up for the king, who says that he caused Amenemhat to go out with 10,000 soldiers from the nomes of the south, from the south country, from the interior, and from the Uabu nome, to bring the pure hard stone which is in the rock, to make a sarcophagus as a remembrance for eternity, and for monuments in the temples of the south (C.M.H. 192). On the same day is dated a private tablet of Amenemhat, recounting all his offices and titles, and saying that he was sent with quarrymen and artisans and sculptors, and many other kinds of workmen, and that he brought a great sarcophagus (C.M.H. 113). The soldiers returned without loss, even of one ass. On the twenty-third day an inscription records that they had cut out the sarcophagus, and that they had made a pool of water ten cubits square at a well that they found in the middle of the valley. It was guarded pure from the animals, and carefully hidden from the Troglodytes. and though soldiers and kings of old had passed there, they had never before found this well (C.M.H. 191), Lastly, on the twenty-eighth day, is a postscript added to the royal tablet, stating that they had extracted the lid of the sarcophagus as a block 4 cubits wide, 8 cubits long, and 2 cubits thick; and that then they slaughtered oxen and gazelles, and incense was offered upon the censer. And 3,000 sailors from the nomes of the North were following with the expedition (C.M.H. 192). We notice that in one inscription the king is called the son of the royal mother Aom; this not only gives her name, but it suggests that she was queen-regnant during a minority, like the mention of the mother of Pepy II during his minority (C.M.H. 101).

Other inscriptions left by different members of the quarrying expedition at Hammamat are of Seonkh (C.M.H. i, 241), of Apa, son of Apa (C.M.H. 40), Mentunesu (55), and Onkha (105). There are no later monuments known and probably the reign was short

ments known, and probably the reign was short.

Several scarabs are known with the name Neb taui ra; and as half of them have the royal titles neter nefer, or nesut, they evidently belong to this king.

### XI, g. Sonkh-ka-ra



about 3588-

#### MENTUHETEP V

Khataneh, group (P.T. II, xlii).
Saqqareh, statue (W.G. 221).
Hammamat, inscription (C.M.H. 114).
Abydos, building (P. Ab. II, xxv, lv).
,, foundation plaque (P. Ab. II, xxiii,
2, 3, 5).



Karnak, alabaster legs of kneeling figure Fig. 92.—Scarab (L.S.K. 42006). (F.P. Coll.). Qurneh, chapel on hill (P.Q. 4, v-vii). Erment, block of alabaster (B.T. 1455). Shatt-er-rigaleh inscriptions (S.B.A. 1906, 171-2; P.S. 359).

Elephantine, temple scene (Rec. xxxi, 64). Plaque, C. Mus. (P. Sc. 165). Temple scene, New York (A.E. 1921, 20).

Granite altar by Senusert I (G.L.R. i, 245). Scarab (P.S.C. 11, 9).

Blue glazed ball bead (N.E. III, 14; xxv, 5; II.C.S. 61).

This king was probably buried at Thebes, as on the top of the northern hill there is a brick enclosure, and a brick chapel within it. Pieces of a cenotaph sarcophagus, with the king's name, and of a *sedheb* seated figure in close robe, were found here (P.O. 4, v-vii).

The inscription of Hammamat is the only important document of this reign. It records an expedition to the sacred land of Punt, which was the south end of the Red Sea, both on the Somali coast and in Yemen. The regular road to this region was across the desert from Koptos. through the valley of Hammamat to the Red Sea. general in command was Henu, who had three thousand soldiers with him, drawn from Upper and Middle Egypt (Oxyrhynkos to Gebeleyn). To cross the desert he provided vokes and skins for the water, and gave a measure of water and twenty biscuits for each man daily. Large reservoirs were dug in three places, and a dozen wells. On reaching the coast, vessels were built to transport the men. The proceeds of the expedition were all kinds of products found in the ports of the Divine Land; and on his return road, through Wady Hammamat, he brought stone for statues of the temples (C.M.H. 114; B.A.R

i, 427). This inscription is dated in the eighth year, which

shows that this reign was not very short.

At Abydos the old brick temple of Pepy had become nearly buried in rubbish, and Sonkh-kara levelled down the site and built a new temple about 45 feet square. Pieces of sculpture and a deposit plaque give the date of this.

The lower part of a kneeling figure, found at Karnak, is of very fine work.

A block of alabaster, with the names of this king, from some temple decoration was found at Erment (B.T. 1455).

At Shatt-er-rigal, at the farther end of the rocks, is a tablet showing Sonkhkara seated on his throne, wearing the crown of Upper Egypt. A dog is seated below the throne. Before the king is a table of offerings, and two attendants with gazelles; behind him kneel, with folded arms, two nobles, the Erpa Tehuti, and another (P.S. 359). Another inscription is on the plateau above the valley (S.B.A. 1906, 171-2).

At Elephantine a large slab of a temple scene was found, indicating that this king built there. He is holding the kherp over a pile of offerings. A large part of a scene in the Abbott collection (New York Hist. Soc. Bull. 1918, p. 17) is of much the same work, but is recorded to have come from Erment, like the inscription B.T. 1455. These

sites need clearance to find the foundations.

A statue of Sonkhkara was found at Saggara, but seems to have been lost sight of since. Deveria took an impression of it, now in the Louvre (W.G. 221).

A double statuette of a man and wife was found at Khataaneh, near Faqus, with a prayer to Sonkhkara as a deity (E. Coll.; P.T. ii, xlii).

The Hor nub name is stated as hetep in L.K., but it is

an upright sign in P. Ab. II, xxv.

Of small objects there is an alabaster plaque from Draa-abul-Nega, naming "King Sonkhkara beloved of Mentu, lord of the Thebaid" (C. Mus.), a gold ring with a stone (C. Mus.; W.G. 221), and one scarab (F.P. Coll.) of delicate work.

Many other kings have been attributed to this dynasty, but further discoveries make it more likely that they were after the XIIth dynasty. There is no question that the names Antef and Mentuhetep reappear in the later age. There is also no question that Sebek-em-sauf (II) was two generations before Sebek-hetep Ra-skhem-suaz-taui. tuemsaf is connected with these by the type of name; and his name Zedui·onkh·ra links with Zedui·heten·ra Dudumes I, and that with Zed-nefer-ra Dudumes II. Thus a group of 10 or 12 kings are all contemporary with the early part of the XIIIth dynasty; this was not suspected at first, for they are all omitted from the Turin papyrus as being illegitimate. There is more difficulty about Kheper-nub-ra Antef. His decree on the gateway at Koptos is not conclusive; it has a wrong plural in the cartouche, as if cut later than the reign, and the inclusion of both names in one cartouche divided by sa ra is unknown on any stone inscription after Senusert III; it only twice occurs later, on objects where the cartouche includes the whole of an inscription (ring stand of Sebekhetep III, and spear head of Kames). The position of this decree on a gateway of Senusert I would be easily accounted for by the nomarch having put the title-deed of his family on the new temple, long after the grant. Another indication is that he had a finely cut white quartz scarab (P.S.C. II, 7, I), and no hard stone scarabs are dated between the middle of the XIIth and the XVIIIth dynasty. Against this there is the difference between the Horus and nebti names, whereas those of the XIth dynasty are identical in all cases, and it is not till Senusert II that different names were used with these two titles. The nebti name links it somewhat with one of the Antef feathered coffins, which are after the XIIth dynasty. Further, the use of nub in a name does not appear before Amenemhat II. The question of position is difficult, but on the whole it may be best to leave him in the unplaced kings after the XIIth.

Another king who seems to have been near Sonkh·ka·ra by the parallelism of the Horus name is

### XII A. Ho·ka·ra

AΝ

Horus Se·Nefer·Taui·F

Gerf Huseyn, inscription (W.L.N. xxxiv, 1). N. of Amada temple (W.L.N. liv, 1, 4, 6). Ibrim (W.L.N. kxiv, 8). Tomas (W.L.N. liv, 3). Toshkeh (W.L.N. lxv, 1).

The personal name suggests that this king comes at the close of the XIth dynasty: and the Horus name also points to following Sonkhkara. It seems probable that he held Nubia until it was conquered in his 29th year by Amenemhat I, as recorded at Korosko. His personal name An points to his being one of the vassal Antef family, that had been suppressed in the south, and rose again when the Mentuheteps fell.

# CHAPTER VIII TWELFTH DYNASTY

|   | Manetho.    | Lis <b>ts.</b>  | Monuments.     |             | YEARS.          |    | B.c.<br>about    |
|---|-------------|-----------------|----------------|-------------|-----------------|----|------------------|
|   |             |                 |                | M·.         | T.P.            | Mo | n.               |
| ı | Ammenemēs   | S·hetep·ab·ra   | Amenemhat I    | 16          | [1]9            | 20 | 3579<br>3559     |
|   |             |                 | Coregency      |             |                 | 10 | 3339             |
| 2 | Sesonkhösis | Kheper·ka·ra    | Senusert I     | 46          | 45              | 32 | 3549             |
|   |             |                 | Coregency      |             |                 | 2  | 3517             |
| 3 | Ammanemēs   | Nub-kau-ra      | Amenemhat I    | [ 38        | _               | 30 | 3515             |
|   |             |                 | Coregency      |             |                 | 3  | 3484             |
|   |             | *** 11          | • •            | •           |                 | _  | 3481             |
| 4 | Sesõstris   | Kha·kheper·ra   | Senusert 11    | 48          | [1]9            | 19 | 3465             |
| 5 | Lakharës    | Kha·kau·ra      | Senusert III   | 8           | 3-              | 28 | JTSJ             |
| 6 | Ammerēs     | Maot-en-ra      | Amenemhat II   | 8 11        | 4               | 46 | 3427             |
| 7 | Ammenemēs   | Maot·kheru·ra   | Amenemhat IV   | <b>V</b> 10 | m.d.<br>9· 3·27 | 6  | 3381             |
| 8 | Skemiofris  | Sebek-neferu-ra | Sehek neferu r |             | 3.10.24         |    | 337 <sup>2</sup> |
| 0 | Semons      | Deben Helefula  | Scient heleful | <b>-</b> 4  | 3-10-24         | _  | 3368             |

Totals stated | 160 213·1·17 ? | 245

THE XIIth dynasty is perhaps the best known chronologically of any before the Greek times; yet here in some reigns uncertainties beset us. The first four kings are well fixed, by monuments with double datings, which prove exactly when each king took his successor

into coregency. Thus only the total length of their

reigns remains unsettled.

Of Amenemhat I we have the double date of his 30th year=10th of Senusert I (M.A. 558). Manetho omitted him from the XIIth, and put him as an addendum of 16 years at the end of the XIth. But the far earlier Turin papyrus puts him down as the first of the XIIth dynasty, and makes the summaries count from him.

Senusert I had 10 years or more with his father, and 32 years alone, associating Amenemhat II in the 42nd year, as there is a double date of his 44th 2nd of Amenemhat

II (L.A. x, 3).

Amenemhat II had two or three years with his father, about 30 years alone, and three or more with his successor, as there is a double date of his 35th year=3rd year of

Senusert II (L.A. x, 4).

Senusert II'S reign is very corrupted. Manetho gives 48 years for it, but this seems quite unsupported. A papyrus from Kahun has the accounts dated in Senusert II up to the 19th year, followed by year 1 of his successor. This conclusively proves the length of the reign (A.Z. xxxvii, 92).

The Turin papyrus shows—9 years; agreeing to 19 years

for this reign.

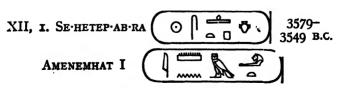
Of Senusert III we may glean somewhat from the lists. His monuments go to the 28th year, the Turin papyrus shows over 30 years, and the 8 of Manetho suggests that it was 38.

Amenemhat III had apparently no coregency, as monuments are dated in his first and second years. We can hardly do better than accept the highest datum known of his, 46 years. And there is no evidence that the short 9 years of Amenemhat IV or the 4 years of Sebekneferu were shared with any other ruler.

We have then the following data:-

|               |               |   |     | es before<br>Coregeno |             | B.c. about |  |
|---------------|---------------|---|-----|-----------------------|-------------|------------|--|
| Amenemhat I   |               |   | •   | 20                    | 30          | 3579       |  |
| Senusert I .  |               |   | •   | 42                    | 45          | 3559       |  |
| Amenemhat II  |               |   |     | 33                    | 36          | 3517       |  |
| Senusert II   |               |   |     | íg ?                  | 22          | 3484       |  |
| Senusert III  |               |   |     | 38                    | 38          | 3465       |  |
| Amenemhat III | •             | • |     | 46                    | 46          | 3427       |  |
| Amenemhat IV  | •             | • | •   | •                     | Ü           | 3381       |  |
|               | •             | • | •   | 9                     | 9           | 3372       |  |
| Sebekneferu   | •             | • | •   | 4                     | 4           | 3368       |  |
|               | Totals here   |   | 211 | 230                   |             |            |  |
|               | Total in T.P. |   |     | 213,                  | in Man. 245 |            |  |

Here we see that the only datum we have partly assumed—the reign of Senusert II—serves to bring the total of the dynasty near that of the Turin papyrus, and the total of the reigns to agree with Manetho in Eusebius, as the difference of some few years is easily made up by whole years being counted instead of years and odd months and days. We have, however, adopted the total of the T.P., and thrown the whole difference on Senusert II in the dates B.C., as that is the least certain point. The other total given in Manetho by Africanus is a copyist's correction after the corruption of the years of reigns, as 160 is just the total of the figures as they stand in Manetho now.



Pyramid, Lisht, Ka·nefer (G. J.L. 87, xxix), ,, endowments (P.M. I, 7, v). Tanis, statue, Memphite (P.T. I, i, 3; xiii, 1),

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Khataanah, lintel (A.Z. xxv, 12; N.G. 9 a).
Bubastis, jamb (N.B. xxxiii A).
 Memphis, altar (M.D. 34 f).
 Kahun papyrus (G.K. xvii, 7).
 Krokodilopolis, statue (L.D. II, 118 e, f).
                  column (Rec. xi, 98).
 Sinai, base of statuette (G.P.S. 63).
 Meir, tomb of Senba I (B.MR. 1, 8).
                                                                -Scarab
 Abydos, stele of Antef (L.M.R. 20516).
                                                          (É. Coll.).
          altar (M.A. 1338).
 Hammamat inscriptions (G.H. ii, 4; iii, 3; viii = C.M.H. 199).
 Koptos, slab (P. Kop. ix).
 Dendereh, blocks (D.D. iii f, iv b).
 Karnak altar and statue (M.K. 8, d, e).
          columns (B.G.M. 132).
          base of figure (B.G.M. 295).
 Ombos-Aswan inscription (C.M.I. 32, 31).
 Elephantine, inscription (P.S. 308).
 Aswan, inscriptions (P.S. 67, 179; C.M.I. 14, 66; 15, 68-9;
    34, 81).
 Korosko, inscription (A.Z. xxii, 30).
 Lazuli cylinder (Caruarvon).
Altar, Berlin (L.D. II, 118 i).
 Papyri, Teachings (A.Z. xxxiv, 28).
          Sanehat (G.S.S. = Rec. xxxii-vi).
 Mentunesu stele, yr. 24 (L.A. x; P. Ins. II, 27).
Beads, Ward, Murch. Colls. (W.S.B. 365).
Scarabs (P.S.C. 12, 1; H.C.S. 62-4; F.S. 23; P.H.I., xxxiii, 2).
 Queen-NEFERA TATHNEN (L.K. 178).
 Son-Senusert. Sanehat papyrus.
 Daughter-NEFERT.
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Although the latter part of the XIth dynasty seems to emerge from the confusion into a tolerably stable and important condition, yet it was the glory of the XIIth dynasty to promote far more organization and justice than had been reached before. We see this reflected in the ka names of the kings, which form a sort of summary in mottoes of the aim of each monarch. Mentuhotep II is "uniting the two lands"; Mentuhotep IV asserts his rule as being "lord of the two lands"; Sonkhkara is "making his two lands to live"; and Amenemhat I, having entered into full possession of the country, needs not refer to its division, but takes the motto "renewing births" as reinstituting the living organization of everything in the country; while Senusert I carries on the idea in the phrase "life of the births," or the national life as renewed and born again. Thus in this series we see expressed the royal motto of each king, that name which he took for his ka on his accession, apparently as his claim to the favour of the gods, when his ka should appear before them, and join Ra after his death. These mottoes generally refer to the care of the king for his royal duties to the country over which he ruled; and in this case of an emerging civilization, the sentences give a beautiful sketch of the progress of the country under a line of strong rulers, uniting and ruling the land, making it live, renewing its birth of social life, and cultivating the renewed life thus

regained.

The document which gives most direct light on the state of the country is the biography of the grandfather of Khnum hotep at Beni Hasan. The king Amenemhat I placed the grandfather (who appears to have been a previous Khnum hotep) "as hereditary prince, administrator of the eastern desert in the town of Menat-khufu: establishing for him the south landmark, and making firm the northern one like heaven, and dividing for him the great river down its middle, setting its eastern half to the nome of the 'Rock of Horus,' reaching to the east desert. Whereas his majesty came that he might abolish wrong, gloriously appearing even as the god Tum himself: that he might set right that which he found ruined, and that which one city had taken from its sister city; that he might cause one city to know its boundary with another city; establishing their landmarks as heaven; reckoning their waters according to that which was in the writings, apportioning according to that which was in antiquity, of the greatness of his love of right. He arose and placed him (Khnum·hotep) as hereditary prince, favoured by the royal hand, great chief of the Oryx nome. He set up the landmarks; the southern one as his boundary to the Hare nome, his northern one to the Jackal nome; he divided the great river valley down its middle, its water, its fields, its wood, its sand, as far as the western desert." We see here the personal care of a vigorous administrator in renewing the birth of all the social organization of the country (G. Bh. 58).

In every part of Egypt we find alike this remarkable vigour of the new administration. Amenemhat must have been one of the most active and capable monarchs in the

whole history of Egypt. From the edge of the Delta at Khataanah to the wilds of Upper Nubia at Korosko we alike find the remains of his works. Instead of one or two monuments, as of the previous kings, we see a number which shows that he built and offered in most of the great towns of the country.

His pyramid at Lisht has a slightly inclined passage, filled with plug-blocks of granite. A forced hole at the side of this leads to the vertical shaft which descends to a chamber: but the rise of water level has hindered it being

cleared (G. J.L. 87-94). Portions of the temple have also been

found (G.J.L. 94-7).

Beginning at the north it appears that Rameses II carried from Memphis for the decoration of his new capital Tanis an excellent statue of Amenemhat (Fig. 94), brutally usurped in after times by Merenptah (P.T. I, i, 3; xiii, i). And from the quality of the red granite resembling that of the granite columns there, and from the brilliant finish of these columns, we can hardly doubt that they are a part of the same booty.

At Khataanah, near Tanis, is a fine lintel of a doorway erected Fig. 94.—Head of Amenembat I by Amenemhat I in red granite; and the later additions



red granite, Tanis.

by his successors point to a noble building having stood there (A.Z. xxv, 12; N.G. 9 a).

At Bubastis a block of this king records his making monuments to his mother Bast (N.B. xxxiii, A).

At Memphis, in the Kom el Qalah, was a red granite altar

dedicated by the king to Ptah (M.D. 34 f).

At Krokodilopolis is the lower part of a red-granite scated group of Amenemhat and Bast, side by side (L.D. ii, 118 e, f; but see P.H. 57). Also a lintel of granite, showing large building work there (Rec. xi, 98).

At Abydos was the important stele of Antef, dated in

the 30th year of the king = the 10th year of his successor. Also there was found a red-granite altar, dedicated by the

king to Osiris (M.A. 1338).

In the Wady Hammamat is a long inscription of an official, a priest of Min, named Antef, who was sent to Rehenu to bring noble hard stone. For eight days he sought for it in the mountain, and could find none suitable. In despair, he threw himself on his face and prayed to Min. Mut, Urt hekau, and all the gods of the desert, and offered incense. The next day he searched in four rocks more, and at last found the stone. This touching record of his troubles is irregularly squeezed in at the bottom of the fine, pompous inscription, which he evidently set his masons to cut when beginning this weary eight days' search, and before he anticipated his difficulties (L.D. ii, 118 d: G.H. viii). Two other inscriptions of the same reign record the work of one Ada in bringing stones for Zautaker, a divine father and priest of Min; probably for decorating the temple of Min of Koptos. He brought two stones of 10 cubits long (G.H. ii, 4), and one of 12 cubits, for which he had a party of two hundred men, two oxen, and fifty asses (G.H. iii, 3).

At Koptos, a beautifully-sculptured slab in relief (Fig. 91) shows that this king rebuilt or decorated the temple

there.

At Karnak is a group of two figures with the names of Amenemhat (M.K. 8 d), and, as at so many other places, an altar of granite with his dedication, in this case to Amenra (M.K. 8 e). These show us the beginning of the decoration of the temple, founded by Mentuhotep; some of the columns of the temple of Mut suggest that Amenemhat also began that.

The name of the pyramid Ka-nefer is recorded at the granite works above the cataract, a high pile of rock by the river bearing his name on the very top of it, and referring to obtaining stone for his pyramid (P.S. 67); while another rude inscription by the cataract is dated in his reign (P.S.

179), and private inscriptions also.

Nubia also was subject to this king. In the "Instructions of Amenemhat to his son," he declares that he had fought the Wawat (Nubians), the Mezau (S. Nubians), and the Sati (Asiatics). That this Nubian conquest was more

than a boast is proved by the pithy record on a rock at Korosko: "In the 20th year of S-hotep-ab-ra, ever living. they came to overthrow the Wawat." This campaign was doubtless carried on by Senusert I, like the campaign against the Libyans in the following year, during which the old king died in Memphis. Until the close of the reign the Nubians had apparently remained apart under their king Hokara (see the close of the XIth dynasty).

There remains a stele of Her, who was a priest of the

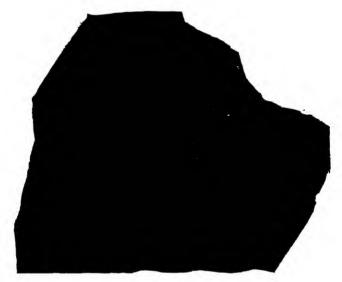


Fig. 95.—Slab of Amenemhat I, Koptos.

pyramid in the ninth year of Senusert I (P.Ins. II, 104). This, dating by the young king a year before the old king's death, shows how completely the reins had fallen from the hands of that great man, whose abilities had again raised Egypt to the front rank of the world. He died early in his thirtieth year of reign, on the 7th of Paophi. (See Sanehat.)
There was also a priest of the king's temple named

Teta-em-saf (O.Sag. 1908, 113).

One of the most striking personal records is the Teaching

which the king left to his son. The bitterness of ingratitude for all the labours and good rule of the king led him to abandon the tone of good-fellowship with which he seems to have begun his reign.

"Harden thyself against all subordinates,
The people give heed to him who terrorizes them:
Approach them not alone,
Fill not thy heart with a brother,
Know not a friend,
Nor make for thyself intimates,
Wherein there is no end.
When thou sleepest guard for thyself thine own heart;
For a man has no people in the day of evil.
I gave to the beggar, I nourished the orphan;
I admitted the insignificant as well as him who was great of faccount."

He then describes the attack on him at night in the palace, and adds:—

"Behold the abomination occurred while I was without thee, While the court had not heard that I had delivered to thee [the kingdom,

While I had not yet sat with thee."

This points to the attempt at assassination being in the 20th year, just before the official coregency. He then recounts what he did for the greatness and welfare of

Egypt.

We shall now turn to a vivid picture of the life and connexions of Egypt at this age, in the Adventures of Sa-nehat, or the "Son of the Sycamore." As the tale is printed in full, we will only epitomize it to point out its interest. The story is in the form of an autobiography, and Sanehat begins by stating his titles, which were of high rank. hereditary prince, royal seal-bearer, confidential friend, judge, keeper of the gate of the foreigners, true and beloved royal acquaintance, follower of the king, of the household of the queen. He was in the army commanded by the coregent Senusert I on an expedition against the Temehu, or Libvans. As they were returning, laden with spoil, messengers came to the coregent to inform him secretly that his father had died. Sanehat was standing by, and overheard the news. At once he was seized with panic fear, and fled away to Syria. The cause of his terror has always been a question to translators; but we may guess, from the familiar manner in which he is received by the royal family on his return in his old age,—with a stipulation that none of his children should come with him,—that he may have been a son of Amenemhat I. During his father's life he would be safe, but so soon as the old king died, he dreaded being cut off by the heir, who might see in him a possible rival. Thus the difficulties and unexplained points of the tale receive a consistent solution: the many high offices held by one who was quite young; the frantic terror of his flight, the familiar reception on his return, and the leaving of all his family and goods behind him on re-entering Egypt.

After fleeing from the army, when he heard of the king's death on the road from the Natron lakes, he went south. slept one night in the open field, got to about Gizeh the next afternoon, ferried himself over the river on a raft, passed Gebel Ahmar, and came to a frontier wall. After a rest there, he went on by night to escape the guards, and reached the Wady Tumilat next day, where he almost perished from thirst. Some Bedawin found him and rescued him, and he passed on from tribe to tribe till he reached Kedem. There, after a time, he found favour with the prince of the hill country, which was a goodly land, with figs and grapes, honey, olives, and fruits, barley and wheat without end, and much cattle. There he married the eldest daughter of the prince, and his children each became shevkh of a tribe. He generalled the fighting men of his father-in-law, and had a grand single combat with a champion of a neighbouring tribe, in the manner of Goliath. In his old age he longed to see again his native land, and sent a petition to Senusert, in which he recites his present condition, and asks, "Let this flight obtain forgiveness, that I may be appointed in the palace, that I may see the place where my heart dwells. How great a thing is it that my body may be embalmed in the land where I was born!" The king replied to him, with presents, and the royal family sent him greetings. The royal message was gracious, accepting his assurances. informing him that the queen and family were well, and telling him, "When thou shalt come into Egypt, behold the palace; and when thou shalt enter the palace, bow thy face to the ground before the Great House; thou shalt be chief among the companions. And day by day behold thou growest old; thy vigour is lost; and thou thinkest on the day of burial. Thou shalt see thyself come to the blessed state; they shall give thee the bandages from the hand of Tait, the night of applying the oil of embalming. They shall follow thy funeral, and visit the tomb on the day of burial, which shall be in a gilded case, the head painted with blue, a canopy of cypress wood above thee, and oxen shall draw thee, the singers going before thee, and they shall dance the funeral dance. There shall prayers for offerings be recited; they shall slay victims for thee at the door of thy pit; and thy columns shall be carved in white stone, in the company of the royal children. Thus thou shalt not die in a strange land, nor be buried by the Amu; thou shalt not be laid in a sheepskin when thou art buried."

Sanehat was delighted at this reply, and sent a long letter of adoration to the king. He then made a feast, and bade farewell to all, giving his goods and estates to his eldest son. And, setting forth, he was received by the frontier officers, and passed on to the palace, meeting royal

provision sent for him by the way.

The king received him graciously, and then called in the queen and family, who could not recognize him at first. When assured of the wanderer's return, the royal daughters performed a dance and chorus of praise to the king. Then Sanehat was accompanied out of the palace, hand in hand with the royal children, and given an establishment. He cast away his foreign dress, and had his long hair shaved off; he dressed in fine linen, anointed himself with the finest oil, and slept on a bedstead, no longer lying on the sand. A grand tomb was built for him by the king, and he ends by a wish that he may continue in the king's favour. From the absence of any account of his burial, it seems that this was a real autobiography, composed by the old man before he died. It gives a very curious view of the relation of Egypt to Syria at the beginning of the XIIth dynastv. A fugitive Egyptian was superior to the Palestinians, and by his education and ability might rise to high power, much like some English adventurer in wild countries at the present time.

The queen Nefera-tathnen is only known from a carnelian statuette which was stolen from the Louvre in 1830. The son Senusert and daughter Nefert are named in the

history of Sanehat summarized above.

I---11

The dated inscriptions are in the 24th year (L.A. x), 28th (M.D. text, p. 30), 29th (A.Z. xx, 30), and 30th (L.M.R. 20516; G.S.S.).



Pyramid, Khnum-ast, Lisht, S. (G.].L.). temple (G.J.L.). Tanis, black granite figure (P.T. i, 4; ii, 5, 8; xiii, 2, 3, 4; and Berlin 7265). Fagus, sphinx (A.Z. xxiii, 11). Bubastis, Hapi figures (M.B. 9, xxxiv D). Ychudiyeh scarabs (P.H.I. vii, 6, 7). Heliopolis obelisk (L.D. II, 118 h). stone from (A.S. IV, 101-2). Memphis, part of stele (Q.S. 1907, 73, viii). endowment stele (P.M. I, 7, v). Lisht, wooden statuettes (A.E. 1915, 145). altar, etc. (G.J.I. 23-25). Fig. 96.gold weights (B.M.M. 1914 Oct.; 1921, ii). Scarab Begig, obelisk (L.D. ii, 119). (F.P. Coll.). Serabit, lintel (G.P.S. 64). altar (G.P.S. 65). stele (P.Sin. 77; G.P.S. 66). ., slab (G.P.S. 68). ., seated figure (P.Sin. 129; G.P.S. 67). .. hawk (P.Sin. p. 124; G.P.S. 69). in group of kings (P.Sin. 128; G.P.S. 70). Bersheh, tomb Tehutinckht (N.Br. 13). Beni Hasan, Ameny tomb (N.Bh. 25). Hat-nub, graffito (F.H. x, 1). Meir, tomb Ukh hetep II (B.MR. I, 8). Ukh hetep III (B.MR. I, 18). Siut, Hepzefa tomb (G.S. iv; J.E.A. 1918, 79). Atauleh, slab (A.S. III, 80). Abydos, lintel and jamb (P. Ab. II, xxvi). wall coping (P. Ab. II, xxiii). Osiris figure (D.S.D. 38230). grooved slab (P. Ab. I, liv, lviii). green glazed vase (B.F.G. 3666). Hammamat, inscriptions, yr. 16 (C.M.H. 123); yr. 38 (C.M.H. 87; also 117). Koptos slab (P. Kop. ix). gateway (P. Kop. x). block (L.D. text, II, 256). foundation deposit (P. Ab. II, xxiii),

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Dendereh, offerings (W.G.A. 36).
Karnak, limestone pillar, C. Mus. (G.L.R.I. 274; A.S. iii, 39;
           iv. 11-13).
        sanctuary restored. Tiberius (Rec. xxii, 63).
        part of group, granite (Rec. xxiii, 63).
   .,
        sphinx, grey granite (A.S. v, 29, pl. iii; L.S.K. 42007).
   ,,
        table of offerings (A.S. v, 29).
   ,,
        votive statue, Sahura (L.S.K. 42004).
                       Antef aă (L.S.K. 42006).
   ,,
        statue of Mentuhetep (M.K. 8 g).
        on pylon of Ramessu X (R.E. ix, 202).
        inscription (M.K. 8 a-c).
Taud, altar (A.Z. xx, 123).
Edfu. named later (B.F.A. iv. 25).
Hierakonpolis columns (My.E. 508).
El Kab, desert, name (S.B.A. 1909, 252, 322).
Aswan inscriptions (L.D. II, 118 a-c; P.S. 91, 113, 271, 273).
Elephantine, base of group (A.S. viii, 47).
             granite slabs (S.B.A. 1908, 72).
              tomb of Să renput (A.Z. xlv, 123; C.M. I, 189).
Philae, stele, B.M. (B.G.S. 136).
Dehmid inscription (W.L.N. xviii, 17).
Amada (W.L.N. liii, 3).
Halfa, great stele (S.B.A. 1901, 230; 1907, 40).
       brick temple (W.L.N.).
       stele of Neferu (B.G.S. 139).
Buhen, stele of Mentuneten (M. w.B. 89, 95),
        founded temple? (M.W.B. 99).
        scarab (M.W.B., pl. 57, 10090).
Kerma, Hepzefa tomb (A.Z. lii, 43, 48, pls. 7, 8, 9).
        Defufa, vases (A.Z. lii, pl. 38).
Altar (B.A.C. 267).
Statue fragment, Flor. Mus. (1714).
Papyrus Berlin (L.D. VI 121 c).
Lion, amethyst, Mac. Coll. (S.B.A. 1905, 104).
Meleagrina shell (5 in P. Am. xliv; Myers Coll. S.B.A. 1899,
  175; on mummy, Aswan, tomb A.S. iv 68; tomb 22, p. 72).
Copper axe (P.T.W. v, 137).
Marble vase (L.E.S. xlvii).
Scarabs (P.S.C. 12, 2, 1-26; H.C.S. 69-73; F.S. 24, 25).
Cylinders (P.S.C. 12, 2, 28-32; H.C.S. 2606).
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## Beads (P.S.C. 12, 2, 33-5; H.C.S. 67-8; S.B.A. 1903, 137). Dated remains

Year I, P.S. x. III, A.Z. xii, 85. VII, Khnumu nekht, L.M.R. 20518. IX, Hor, P.Ins. II, 108; Heruemhat, B.S.L. vi; Merry, P.Ins. II, 104. X, Sebekdudu, L.M.R. 20026; Antef, L.M.R. 20516. XIII, 104. Dudu, B.A.C. 264, P. C. 2014. Delay. pl. 1. XIV, Athy, B.B.M. 21 = B.G.S. 138; Debas, Berl. 1192; Antef, L.M.R. 20181. XVII, Dusa, P.Ins. II, 67. XVIII, Wady Halfa, S.B.A. 1901, 230. XX, Karnak, M.K. 8 a. XXIV, Antef, L.M.R. 20542. XXVI, Antef,

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P.Ins. II, 61. XXXI, Hat-nub, F.H. x; Bersheh, N.Br. 13. XXXIII, Aswan, L.D. 118 c; Antefaqer, B.S.L. ii, XXXIV, Aqudada, Berl. 1199. XXXIX, Antef, B.G.S. 140-2. XLI, Aswan, P.S. 91. XLIII, Beni Hasan, N.Bh. I; viii. XLIV, Upuata, B.S.L. iv. XLV, Amada, W.L.N. liii, 3.

Queen—Nefert (G.S.S.) Sons—Amenemhat (II) (S.B.A. 1892, 453). Ameny (N.Bh. I, viii).

Daughter (?)—Ptah nefru (G.J.L. Fig. 68).

As we have seen, under the last reign, Senusert was associated for ten years with his father; and during at least the latter part of that time he carried on the external affairs of the kingdom, by expeditions both to the south and the west. So feeble does the old king appear to have become, that the internal administration also devolved

upon the son very soon after his accession.

A leather roll, written under Amenhotep IV, professes to give a copy of the account concerning the building of the temple of Heliopolis in the third year of Senusert, that is, seven years before his father's death: and he is stated to have been crowned with the double crown, and surrounded by his courtiers. Little, however, can be learned from this composition, which is poetical in arrangement, and appears to be entirely a piece of "fine writing." But as the ceremonial reciter (Kher·heb) is stated to have stretched the cord and laid the foundation in the ground, it must speak of an original building, and not of a mere restoration (A.Z. xii, 85; R.P. xii, 53). Of the work of this temple nothing now remains but the one celebrated obelisk of Heliopolis (L.D. ii, 118 h), which records that it was made in the beginning of the Sed festival of thirty years. The fellow obelisk to this was not overthrown till A.D. 1258 according to Makrizi; and in A.D. 1200 the obelisks still retained their ancient caps of copper, according to Abd el Latif (cap. iv).

From a tablet of the first year at Aswan (P.S. 271), and this above record of the third year, there is a series of dated inscriptions, mostly private, which extend throughout the reign to the forty-fifth year. This custom of dating monuments is but little known before the XIIth dynasty, and is not so usual after this period; but a special fashion of precise dating seems to have prevailed during this age. As there is apparently little to be learned from these private monuments that are dated, we shall continue to notice the remains in geographical order, as that yields a view of the regions of activity in the various reigns.

In the Sinaitic peninsula Senusert again asserted the Egyptian power, and at Serabit el Khadem are memorials

of his time.

At Tanis were found at least three statues. The bust of



Fig. 97.—Bust of Senusert I, black granite, Tanis.

one of these still remains (Fig. 97), in black granite, of glass-like polish (P.T. I, phot. xiii, 2). Another, also in black granite, is perhaps among Egyptian sculptures for having no back pedestal or pier, the whole body being admirably carved on all sides (P.T. I, phot. xiii, 3, 4); this was more complete in Burton's time, and is shown by his copy to belong to this king. third statue of grey granite is in evidence, by a piece of the base (P.T. I, ii, 8). All of these were barbarously ruined by Merenptah, who battered his name in upon the exquisitely finished surfaces. Near Tanis, at Fagus, a red-granite sphinx has been found, which is probably of Senusert (A.Z. xxiii, II).

Passing Heliopolis, above noted, Bubastis, and the temple of Memphis, which seems to have been completed before

Senusert, we reach the pyramid of Lisht.

The entrance was in the pavement at the foot of the pyramid. The passage was blocked by long plugs of granite. By a tunnel down the side of these the spoilers had entered; but the chamber cannot now be reached owing to the rise of water level. The wall around the pyramid was panelled with the king's name. In the site of the temple the great altar was found, and the amazing

series of ten large seated figures of the king, absolutely perfect, left lying on the ground never erected. Osiride statues were also found, and a pit containing thirteen altars for priestesses of the king (G. J.L.). The beautiful wooden statues of the king were found in a chamber in the temenos wall (A.E. 1915, 145).

At Begig in the Fayum is a remarkable red-granite obelisk. This differs from all other monoliths in Egypt, being rounded at the top with a cylindrical curvature parallel with the wide face (L.D. ii, 119). The steles of Meydum are rounded with a spherical curve, which shows of

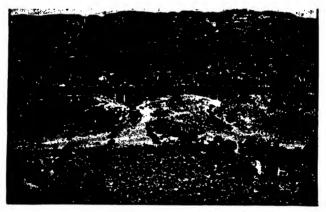


Fig. 98.—Road up to tomb of Ameny, Beni Hasan.

course most prominently on the broad face; whereas this is rectangular in front view, and only curved in side view. The subject of decoration is also peculiar. The upper part of the face is occupied by five courses of scenes, and 13 lines of hieroglyphs below them. Each course represents Senusert adoring four divinities, twenty in all. The block was 41 feet high and 7 and 4 feet at the base; but it is now overthrown and broken in two. This shows that the Fayum continued to attract attention, Amenemhat I having begun to occupy it, and Amenemhat III having specially developed it, as we shall notice further on.

Next, at Beni Hasan (Fig. 98, C.A.E. 127), is one of the

fullest records of this time, in the tomb of Ameny. He was the hereditary noble of the Oryx nome, and succeeded to the princedom in the eighteenth year of Senusert I, as his tomb is dated in the twenty-fifth year of his rule and the forty-third of the reign of the king. He records: "I followed my lord when he sailed up the river to overthrow his enemies in the four foreign lands (probably Upper and Lower Nubia, east and west). I sailed up as the son of the prince (i.e. before the eighteenth year of the king), royal seal-bearer, commander of the soldiers of the Oryx nome. as a man replaces an aged father, according to the favours of the king's house and his love in the palace. I passed through Ethiopia in sailing southward. I removed the boundary of the land. I brought the tribute of my lord, my praise reached unto heaven. His majesty arose, and went in peace. He overthrew his enemies in Kush. Following his majesty, I returned, sharp of face, and without loss of my soldiers.

"I sailed up the river to bring treasures of gold to the majesty of Scnusert I. I sailed up with the hereditary prince, the eldest son of the king, of his body, Ameny (afterwards Amenemhat II). I sailed up with 400 men of every chosen man of my soldiers. Returning in peace, they had not diminished. I brought the gold appointed to me, and I was praised for it in the palace, and the king's son

thanked God for me.

"I arose and sailed up the river to bring treasures to the city of Koptos with the hereditary prince, the vizier Senusert, I sailed up with 600 men of every valiant man of the Oryx nome, I returned in peace, and my army safely, I

had done all that was ordered to me.

"I was in favour and much beloved, a ruler who loved his city. Moreover, I passed years as ruler in the Oryx nome. All the works of the king's house came into my hands. Behold he set me over the gangers of the lands of the herdsmen in the Oryx nome, and 3000 bulls of their draught stock. . . . Not a daughter of a poor man did I wrong, not a widow did I oppress, not a farmer did I oppose, not a herdsman did I hinder. There was not a foreman of five from whom I took his men for the works. There was not a pauper around me, there was not a hungry man in my time, When there came years of famine, I arose. I

ploughed all the fields of the Oryx nome, to its southern and its northern boundaries. I made its inhabitants live, making provision for them; there was not a hungry man in it, and I gave to the widow as to her that had a husband: nor did I favour the elder above the younger in all that I gave. Afterward the great rises of the Nile came, producing

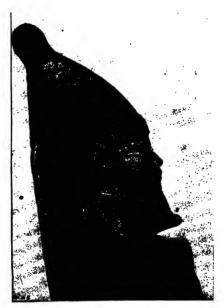


Fig. 99.—Senusert I, Abydos.

wheat and barley, and producing all things, and I did not exact the arrears of the farm " (N.Bh. 25).

Here we have a picture of the occupations of the old feudal families of the various districts, tamed down and kept under restraint by the power of the Theban kings; and employed in various public missions and wars, or else ruling their districts with care and justice.

At Abydos Senusert was engaged on the temple of Osiris (P. Ab. II, 16, lvi). Mentuhotep, the chief architect, was also governor of the east desert or red country, and a

man of almost royal importance; among other works he built the temple of Osiris, and sunk a well (Rec. x, 144). These are probably the same as works mentioned by an inferior official, Merry (P.R. ii, 104), who prepared a noble place of eternity for Osiris, with a wall that pierced heaven, a well that reached down to the river, and gates that hid



Fig. 100.—Senusert I, Koptos.

the sky. And this same well appears to be mentioned by Strabo, who describes a well at Abydos. with a descent roofed by admirable blocks of stone. A statue of Senusert has also been found there (Fig. 99) (M.A. 345; M.A. ii, 21; R.A. phot. III, II2). This building is referred to in the XIIIth dynasty, when the colours and ornaments of Senusert I were restored: and in the XXth dynasty, when "the house of Amen dated from Senusert I and needed to be renewed" (B.H. 142, 133).

The search for fine stone at Hammamat was renewed in the sixteenth and thirty-eighth years. At Koptos the temple seems to have been rebuilt; the fine slab of a scene of the king and Min

(U.C., Fig. 100), and the gateway jambs (C. Mus.) show excellent work. At Karnak the temple building was continued, according to the names on the columns, and statues of the king and of two of his great predecessors were set up.

Farther south, at Shekh Taud, the Greek Tuphion, opposite to Erment, was found a red-granite table of offerings (now in C. Mus.; A.Z. xx, 123). Beyond that, at Hierakonpolis, in the mounds of the town were found polygonal columns of this king (My. E. 508).

At the cataract are some rock inscriptions, dated in the first year (P.S. 271), thirty-third year (L.D. ii, 118 c), fortyfirst year (P.S. 91), and two undated (P.S. 113, 273).

The important memorial in the south is the tablet from Wady Halfa (now in Florence), which records the conquest of several negro tribes, Kas, Shemyk, Khesaa, Shat, Akherkin, etc. (S. Cat. F. 1542). Unfortunately the front edge of the inscription is broken; but a fragment with the date of this expedition in the eighteenth year has been recovered by Captain Lyons, who has also found another tablet (now in Oxford, S.B.A. xvi, 16), and has examined the brick temple of this king at Wady Halfa.

Several private monuments are dated in the king's reign: and the following persons are more or less of

interest:-

Khnem·nekht was born in first year of Amenemhat, and dated his stele in seventh year of Senusert, when he was therefore 27 years old, at Abydos (L.M. R. 20518.)

Her, priest of the pyramid Ka nefer of Amenemhat I, dated his stele in ninth year of Senusert (P.R. ii, 108).

Heru·em·hat, an unusual name, ninth year (Leyden,

B.S.L. vi).

Merry, builder of temple of Abydos, ninth year (P.R. ii, 104).

Sebekdudu and Antef, tenth year (L.M.R. 20026, 20516). Dudu, thirteenth year (B.A.C. 264), Athy, fourteenth vear (B.B.M. 21).

Debas and Antef, fourteenth year (Berl. 1192; L.M.R.

20181). Dusă, seventeenth year (P.Ins. II, 67). Antef, twenty-fourth year (L.M.R. 20542).

Antef. twenty-sixth year (P.Ins. II. 61). Amenemhat brother.

Tehutinekht, thirty-first year (N.Br. 13).

Antefager, great-grandfather under Uah-onkh, thirtythird year (B.S.L. ii). Aqudada, thirty-fourth year (Berl. 1199).

Antef, thirty-ninth year (B.G.S. 140-2).

Amenemhat tomb, forty-third year (N.Bh. I, viii).

Upuatoa, forty-fourth year = second of Senusert II (B.S.L. iv).

Mentuhetep, builder of the Abydos temple (L.M.R. 20539). Hepzefa, whose great tomb at Siut contains nine

Fig. 101.

Scarab (G. Coll.).

funerary contracts (J.E.A. 1918, 79), and who was buried at Kerma as governor of the Sudan (A.Z. lii, 43). Antefager, vizier (D.T.A. 13). Mentunesu, general (P.Ins. I, i).

aqer, vizier (D.T.A. 13). Mentuncsu, general (P.Ins. I, i). Many large Meleagrina shells are known, inscribed with one or other of the king's names. As some doubt has been thrown upon them, the discovery of some in position is satisfactory (A.S. iv, 68, 72). A carnelian statuette was in the Louvre, but was stolen in the Revolution of 1830; a glazed vase was found at Abydos (B.F.G. 3666 and front.); a piece of a vasc of the blue-white marble, characteristic of this age, bears the name (B. Mus., L.E.S. xlvii); there are also many scarabs, some plain, others of the symmetrical style of ornament, and with scroll-work; also a few cylinders of glazed stone.

An interesting weight, bearing the name of the king, belonged to a goldsmith, Hormera (Vienna, Rec. xii, 10); it weighs 853 grains, or four of the gold standard of 213 grains. Probably the plaque with the same name (formerly in the Palin Coll.), is another weight of this person. Another weight marked 23½ was found at Lisht (B.M.M.

1921, ii).

The name of a princess, Ptah neferu, is on an ivory wand from Lisht. The place of it there suggests that this is a different person to Ptah-neferu, daughter of Amenemhat III.



# AMENEMHAT II

Pyranid, Kherp, Dahshur (M.F.D. II, 28-86). Dehdamun, granite altar (A.Z. xxiii, 12). Nebesheh, ,, ,, (P.T. II, ix, 1). Saqqareh jamb (L.D. II, 123 c). Memphis, granite lintel (P.M. II, 14, xxiii). Serabit. 0 steles. 2 statuettes (G.P.S. xvi. xi

Serabit, 9 steles, 2 statuettes (G.P.S. xvi, xix-xxii; P.Sin. Fig. 130).

" figure of Snefru son of Maket (B.G.S. 149 = G.P.S. 77), Beni Hasan, Khnemhetep tomb (N.Bh. 58), Bersheh, Colossus tomb (N.Br. I, 6).

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Meir, Senba II tomb (B.MR. 1, 8).
  ,, Ukh hetep IV tomb (B.MR. 1, 9).
Abydos, Kheper-ka-ra stele (L.M.R. 20531).
        Săhather stele (B.G.S. 143-4).
        Sebek khu born (G.A. 32).
Gasus (26° 35'), inscription (A.Z. xx, 203).
      stele, yr. 28 (B.A.C. 267, iii).
El Hosh, tablet (My. E. 512).
Aswan, inscriptions (C.M.I. 39, 169; 24, 167; 25. 178).
Debod, stele, Berlin (L.D. II, 123 b).
Dehmid, 3rd year (W.L.N. xviii, 10).
Amada, 5th year (W.L.N. liii, 4; 22nd year? 5).
Cylinders and beads (P.S.C. 12, 3, 6-16; F.S. 28; H.C.S.
  2607-9; P.Sc. 217; P.I. viii, 24; N.Sc. viii, 11).
Scarabs (P.S.C. 12, 3; H.C.S. 102-107; coregency with next, N.Sc. ix, 31; P.Sc. 209-14).
Plaques (P.S.C. 12, 3, 6; P.Sc. 219-221).
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#### Dated Monuments

Year II, Amenemhat, M.A. 618. III, Ameny, L.M.R. 20131; Kai, Berl. 1183; Sămentu, B.G.S. 145; Dehmid, W.L.N. xviii, 10. IV, Serabit, G.P.S. 73. V, Amada, W.L.N. liii, 4. VI, Aăy, C.M.I. 39, 169. VIII, Senusert, P.Ins. II, 36. IX, Senusert, L.M.R. 20239; Antef, B.S.L. iii. XII, Antef, Kestner, Rec. xvii, 4. XIII, Mentuhetep, C.M.I. 24, 167; Amenhetep, B.G.S. 150. XIV, Mentuhesu, P.Ins. II, 57. XVII, El Hosh, My. E. 512. XIX, Khnemhetep, N.Bh. I, xxv; Sehetep-ab, B.G.S. 151. XX, Apu, L.M.R. 20025. XXIII, Antef, Berl. 1190. XXIV, Serabit, G.P.S. 47-9. XXV, Mentuhetep, Berl. 1198. XXVII, Sebek-khu born, G.A. v. XXVIII, Khenti-kheti-ur, B.A.C. 268, iii. XXIX, Minhefer, B.G.S. 152; XX-, Hat-nub, F.H. xv, 11; XXXVI = III of next, C.M.I, 25, 178.

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Queen—KEMA·NUB (M.F.D. II, 70).

Son?—Amenemhat-onkh (M.F.D. II, 69, 85).

Daughters—Ata·urt (M.F.D. II, 73).

Ata (,, 45).

Khnemt (,, 57, 68, 74).

Sät-hathor (,, 73, 75).

Neb·ta (S.B.A. 1905, 105).
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The pyramid had been entirely plundered anciently, and nearly destroyed. It was built with walls of stone running through the brickwork, like that of Senusert II.

As we have already seen, the new king began his reign at least two years before the death of Senusert I. He appears to have kept up the traditions of the dynasty, but no great events marked this time.

The pyramid of this king was named Kherp, as shown

by a stele of a priest of the pyramid (B. Mus.; A.Z. xii, II2). And as no two pyramids are known to have the same name, this serves to identify the king with an abbreviated form of his name, where Sa hathor says that he was beloved of Nub kau ra, and was sent to do the work for the temple of Amenu at the *Kherp* pyramid (S.B.A. xiv, 39). Thus



Fig. 102.—Scrabit el Khadem.

Amenu (and probably Ameny) was a recognized familiar name for the longer Amenemhat, for royal persons, as it was also in private life at Beni Hasan.

Nub kau ra appears to have formally established the mining works at Serabit el Khadem (Fig. 102). But in Eastern Egypt his work is not found at the great centres of Tanis or Bubastis, but only at the lesser sites, which perhaps he was the first to adorn. At Dehdamun, near Faqus, a granite altar of his was found by an Arab of the

district, and sold to the Gizch Museum; it is of veined red granite, and very finely worked (A.Z. xxiii, 12). And in the same region, at Nebesheh, were the remains of an altar of black granite, which bore a remarkable added inscription of later date by a royal seal-bearer (P.T. II, ix, 1).

At Beni Hasan is the principal inscription of this reign, in the tomb of Khnem-hotep (Tomb 3). He states that Nub-kau-ra raised him to the place of his father as prince in the nineteenth year, in the town of Menat-Khufu. He then describes all the religious and funerary foundations that he established, both for his father and for the various festivals. He also arose to favour and power at the court. His son was advanced to be ruler of the Jackal nome, and the boundaries and details were settled by the king. His other son was also advanced. And lastly, he describes a grand mortuary chapel for his father, which he had constructed (N.Bh. 61).

The tombs of El Bersheh are now of importance at this period; and the tomb of Tahuti hotep bears the celebrated scene of the dragging of a colossus on a sledge by gangs of

labourers (see p. 186).

Abydos continued to be of the greatest importance for burials. The tomb of Sa-hathor there records that he was beloved by the king Nub-kau-ra, and was sent on many missions. Among others he went to the town of the *kherp* pyramid of Amenu to do work on fifteen statues of hard stone, which he finished in two months. In his youth he worked the mines in Nubia, and made the chiefs have gold washed for him (A.Z. xii, 112).

The desert, however, was worked as before. At Wady Gasus a small temple existed, from which two steles have come, one of this reign, one of the next. The first records how it was put up by a noble named Khenti-kheti-ur, scalbearer, keeper of the storehouse, who came in peace from Punt with his boats in the twenty-eighth year (A.Z. xx, 203).

In Hammamat there is said to be an inscription also of this king (My. E. 326). And one has been seen at El Hosh, near Silsileh, dated in the seventeenth year (My. E. 512).

At Aswan there are a few inscriptions of this time, but

none of historical import (L.D. ii, 123, a, b, e).

Among the private tablets, one of Mentusa (B. Mus., Sharpe, i, 83) records that he was born in the first year of

Amenemhat I, and erects his tablet in the third year of Amenemhat II, when he must therefore have been 52 years old.

The end of this king, according to Manetho, was that he was slain by his chamberlains: an inglorious end to a

tranquil life of easy prosperity.

There are many small amulets, cylinders, and scarabs; but the workmanship shows a great falling off from that of the previous reigns and the old high level of delicate and regular work was never reached again in this dynasty. The scarabs of Sankh-ka-ra, Amenemhat I, and Senusert I are perhaps unrivalled in any other period for their finish.

Of the royal family a great amount was recovered at Dahshur around the king's pyramid; the references are to pages and plates in M.F.D. II. The tomb of the queen Kema-nub had been entirely plundered, and only fragments of the coffin remained (70). Amenemhat-onkh probably belongs to an earlier reign, as his monuments were only found reused here (69, 85). The princess Ata-urt had a red-granite sarcophagus "cut with a rare perfection," but no accurate measurements are given of all these sarcophagi, which are of the greatest technical interest, owing to the perfection observed under the next reign. The burial had a quantity of red-purple stuffs around the body; these have not been examined as to the dyc. There were bracelets of gold and hard stone beads, a collar of gold and beads (pl. xiii), the usual sceptres, mace, bow, flail, hoe, and other models of wood gilt (73). The canopic jars were in the Săt hathor mert had a similar burial (75). had a richer burial, with similar objects, and also a bronze dagger with inlaid gold handle (vi), bracelets of beadwork with sliding clasps of gold; a carnelian falcon; a network of stone and gold beads over the body; model tools of copper; 32 pottery vases; the set of 9 vases for the sacred oils; and canopic jars with human heads, three bearded and one plain (45). The burial of Khnemt was the richest of all. having similar objects to those of Ata and also two crowns: one of a solid and heavy style of gold flowers inlaid with stones; the other of gold wires held at the crossings by little florets inlaid with cornelian, the lightest and most beautiful design known (ix, x, xi). There was also a aigrette of stone beadwork (not published), and a multitude

of hieroglyph signs of gold and inlay, attached to the beadwork ornaments (57, 68, 74). An extraordinary group of foreign work in granules of gold was also here; the forms are stars and divided circlets (xii); with these was a disk of glass mosaic, representing a calf (J.E.A. 1920, 159). The source of this work, which long antedates the Etruscan jewellery, is quite unknown. Other pieces of granular work have also been found elsewhere.



Pyramid, Kho, Lahun (P.I.; P.L. II). Tanis, figure of Nefert (P.T. II, xi, 171). Memphis, inscription (M.D. 27 a). Riggeh, jewel of name (E.R.M. pl. 1). Lahun, altar, gold uraeus (A.E. 1920, 67). Kahun, papyrus (A.Z. xxxvii, 95). Herakleopolis, blocks (N.A. i : P.E. xiii). Serabit, statuette of Hegab (G.P.S. 79-80). Bersheh, tomb of Tehuti-hetep (N.Br. I, 6). Beni Hasan, tomb of Khnem hetep (N.Bh. I, xxxviii). Meir, tomb of Ukh hetep V (B.MR. I, 9). Wady Gasus, Khnemhetep stele (B.A.C. 269, iv). Hammamat, inscription (C.M.H. 104). Qoceyr, stele (A.Z. xx, 204). Karnak, red-granite head (L.S.K. 42010). Hierakonpolis, statue (Rec. x, 139). Aswan, with father's date (C.M.I. 25, 178). Cylinders (P.S.C. 12, 4, 5-9; H.C.S. 2610-14; F.S. 29; P.Sc. 228-232; P.K. x, 2, 3; P.I. viii, 25-28). Scarabs (P.S.C. 12, 4, 1-4; P.Sc. 223-6; F.S. 30; N.S.C. 36008). with Senusert I (A.E. 1916, 27, 1). Hedgehog Ghurob 1921, 267.

#### Dated Monuments

Year I, Gasus, Khnemhetep stele, B.A.C. 267, iv. II, Senusert, P.Ins. II, 63. III, with Am. II, C.M.I. 25, 178; Kai, Berl. 1183. V, Aswan, Onkek and Mentu-hetep, C.M.I. 24, 165. VI, Sebekhetep, B.G.S. 155; Zaš, B.G.S. 156; Khnem-hetep II, N.Bh. I, xxxviii. XIII, reputed stele, B. Mus. W.G. I, 249.

Queen—NEFERT. Statue (B.D. xxi, xxii; P.T. II, xi, 171).
On stele of Au (L.M.R. 20394; M.A. II, xlvi).
On Kahun papyrus (A.Z. xxxvii, 91, 96).

Sons—Kho kau ra (F.H. xv, 12). (Senusert III.)
Senusert senb (A.Z. xxxvii, 91).

Daughters—Săt-hathorant, canopics (B.L.T. xiv, xv).

scarab, Dahshur (N.S.C. 37400).

Nefert (A.Z. xxxvii, 91).

Hatshepsut (L.M.R. 20394).

Atauhayt (A.Z. xxxvii, 91).

Atmuneferu (?) (P.I. xii, 6, 7, 8).



Of this king we have fortunately found the pyramid and pyramid-town, which gives a more complete idea of the civilization of this reign than we have yet obtained of most other periods. The pyramid of Lahun is at the mouth of the channel in the desert which leads into the Fayum; and we have already noticed how the kings of this dynasty have left their remains in the Fayum, and organized that province.

Fig. 103.—Cylinder Fayum, and organized that province.
(B. Mus.). Senusert II placed his pyramid where it was still in the Nile valley; but from the top of it the Fayum is visible on looking up the channel between the

desert slopes.

The pyramid is peculiar (Fig. 104); the lower part of it is of unmoved rock, which has been isolated from the hill



Fig. 104.—Pyramid of Lahun from the south (excavations in chips around it).

by a deep and wide cutting. Upon that rock walls of large blocks arise, both diagonal and square with the faces, and between these walls is filled in a brick pyramid. The outside was cased with fine limestone, like the other pyramids. It seems that the pyramids of the earlier kings had fallen a prey to violence already; the signs of personal spite in the destructions are evident (P.P., 2nd edition, 66, 67). Therefore Senusert II determined to abandon the old system of a north entrance in the face, and to conceal the access to the interior by a new method. The chambers were all excavated in the solid rock without any upper

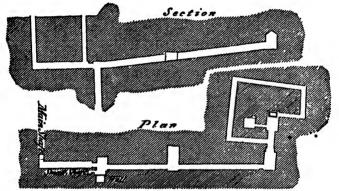


Fig. 105.—Section and plan of passages in pyramid of Lahun. Scale 1000.

opening, so that they could not be reached by tracking between the rock and the building. And the entrance was by a shaft outside of the south face of the pyramid. Two shafts were made (Fig. 105): the main shaft was carefully concealed under the floor of a princesses' tomb, but the small secondary shaft was only covered by the pyramid pavement, and was opened up when that was removed. The tomb of Anpu the architect is at Lahun (P.U.).

The interior has a long sloping passage, rising upwards, so that water could not flood the sepulchre; this passage leads to a large chamber lined with limestone, and that opens into another lined with red granite, in which stands the sarcophagus (P.I. 1-4). There is a curious passage cut

in the rock passing around the granite chamber, as if to prove to any searcher that no other way opened out of that. In the chamber stood the alabaster altar of offerings, finely inscribed to Osiris and Anubis (P.I. iii). The red-granite sarcophagus is exquisitely wrought; the errors of flatness and straightness being matters of thousandths of an inch (P.I. 3). It has a peculiar lip around it, which has given some weight to the theory that it has been reset in a new position, and that it had been originally sunk in the floor. But any such theory of arrangement requires us to suppose a great amount of reconstruction, of which there is no evidence whatever.

Against the east face of the pyramid was a shrine for the worship of the king, richly carved and painted. The whole of this was smashed up by the masons of Ramessu II, who have left his name written on a block. And the stonework from here appears to have been removed to Ahnas, where the name of Senusert II occurs on a block reworked by Ramessu II.

About a mile to the east of the pyramid, opposite the middle of the face, is a temple of larger size. This stands on the edge of the desert hills, and would probably be the public temple, while the shrine by the pyramid might be only for the priests. This had all been destroyed, and only a coat of chips covered the ground, many of them showing brilliant work and colouring. A basalt statue had been here, of which only a flake of the thigh remained; also a shrine of red granite, and a smaller statue of black granite, of which chips were found. In the centre of the area was a pit in the rock with foundation deposits (P.K. 22; P.L. II).

Near the large pyramid stood a smaller one, no chambers in which are known as they could not be found in a wide clearance of the whole area within the pyramid enclosure, and a large space outside of that. Nor was any chamber found by tunnelling under every part of it at two different levels (P.L. II). A fragment of the shrine gives the name of a princess beginning with Atmu, probably Atmu-neferu (P.I. xii, 6, 7, 8).

By the site of the larger temple is the town of the workmen who built the pyramid and temples; this place was known as "Hat hetep Senusert," and is now named Kahun. Part of it is entirely denuded away, but it yet occupies about 18 acres, within which are over two thousand rooms. All of these have been cleared, and the plans of the streets and houses completely published (P.I. xiv). From this we learn the details of the houses of that age; both the mansions of the high officials, and the rows of little dwellings for the workmen. The objects found in this town throw much light on the civilization; and the papyri form the majority of those known of this age. The town appears to have been half deserted after the pyramid and temple were finished; and the inhabitants who were left used the empty houses for rubbish holes. But it seems that few, if any, people remained there during the troubles of the Hyksos period. A few houses were occupied under the beginning of the XVIIIth dynasty, and then it was left to the jackals, and gradually weathered down.

At Beni Hasan is one of the most interesting records of this age. Khnem hotep is represented as receiving a group of thirty-seven Aamu of the eastern desert, bearing a tribute of kohl, or eye paint. The figures of these foreigners are very important, as showing what kind of civilization was already spread in the countries between Egypt and Mesopotamia. The royal scribe, Nefer-hotep, who introduces the party, bears a tablet on which is written, "Year six, under the majesty of Horus, the guide of the two lands, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Kha-kheper-ra, the number of Aamu brought by the son of the noble Khnem hotep, on account of the kohl, Aamu of Shu, number amounting to 37" (N.Bh. xxxviii). Khety, the overseer of the huntsmen, follows the scribe, and behind him come the foreigners. First is the chief, leading a tame ibex (Fig. 106): his title and name is before him, heg semtu Absha (N.Bh. xxviii); the title used later by the Hyksos invaders. Another such group is recorded on a scarab, of a guard of 110 Aamu (P.S.C. xv. AC.).

The richly coloured clothing of these people shows that they were not mere wandering Bedawin, clad in skins; on the contrary, their gaily patterned garments remind us of the rugs of Persia in the design. They cannot have attained the means and the taste for such ornament in a savage and wandering life; and we may safely infer that they belong to a region less sterile than the bare desert of the Red Sea.

Rather may we connect them with Northern Arabia, the region which the power and monuments of Khyan lead us to regard as the home of the *heq semtu*, or prince of the hill country. The chief's face is obviously Semitic, being closely like that of the Bedawin of the present day; the narrow line of beard down the jaw, rising toward the corner of the mouth and then sloping away to the chin, the long aquiline nose, and the general expression, are all



Fig. 106.—Chief and women of Aamu (from Beni Hasan I).

familiar in the Arab face. The same Semitic origin is pointed out by the name Absha, which is equal to the Hebrew Abishai, "the father of a present"; and it is likely that this was not his real name, but rather a name given him by his people in consequence of his coming to Egypt with a present or tribute to the Egyptians; just as Arabs would now name a man who brought presents as "the father of presents."

After the chief comes a follower leading an oryx; then four armed men with bow, boomerangs, and spears; two

children on an ass laden with rugs; a boy with a spear: four women gaily dressed in coloured garments, patterned with stripes, chequers, and frets; another ass laden with baggage, a spear, and a shield; a man with a water-skin on his back, playing on a lyre; and lastly, a bowman with a boomerang (N.Bh. xxxi). Here is no sign of inferior civilization. The clothing is quite as much as the Egyptians used, the decoration of it is more profuse than on the Egyptian dress, the arms are the same as in Egypt, the bow and boomerang, and the spear is not common so early in Egypt; the sandals are as good as the Egyptian pattern, and the women have socks. Though a different civilization. it is no way inferior to the Egyptian in the arts of life which were needful to such a people. These were the Aamu with whom the Egyptians warred with such large armies under Pepy I; and who appear to have invaded Egypt and held the country in the time of the VIIth and VIIIth dynasties.

At Qoceyr one of the steles is dated under Senusert II (A.Z. xx, 204). At Hierakonpolis a statue of this king in black granite has been found, now in the Cairo Museum (Rec. x, 139). And at Aswan is a fine stele of a local noble, Mentuhotep, dated in this reign (L.D. ii, 123 d). The tomb of Sarenput at Aswan, and his statue of black granite (B. Mus.; B.G.S. 157), also belong to this reign, as his father was called after Amenemhat II (Rec. x, 189).

In Berlin is a statue dedicated by an official, Ser (W.G. 250); and in the Louvre a carnelian statuette is said to exist, but is not in the catalogue. It is probably a false reference for the stolen statuette of Senusert I (see De

Rougé, Notice des Monuments, 16).

Of scarabs and cylinders there are several of this reign; ten having been found in his pyramid-town of Kahun alone.

His queen was named Nefert, as we learn from her greygranite statue at Tanis (Fig. 107) (G. Mus.; P.T. II, xi, 171). She is represented seated on a throne, with her wig brought down in two masses to the breasts, where each ends in a spiral curl. On the bosom is a pectoral, on which is the king's name between two vultures on the *nub* sign. On the throne are the titles, "The hereditary princess, the great favourite, the greatly praised, the beloved consort of the king, the ruler of all women, the king's daughter of his body, Nefert." The title ruler, or princess, of all women is peculiar, and suggests that the queen had some prerogatives of government as regards the female half of the population.

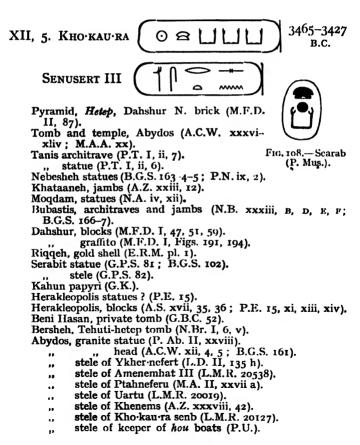
On the north of the pyramid there are nine rock mastabas in a line with the queen's pyramid; but the tunnelling in



Fig. 107.—Queen Nefert.

the rock where a passage might have been expected proved it to be solid. One of the mastabas had been cased with sculptured masonry. Opposite this was a deep shaft outside of the enclosure, leading to a chamber beneath the wall, close to the mastaba (A.E. 1920, 69). On the south were four tombs of the royal family, disconnected (B.L.T. xxi, xxii, xxiii). They had all been plundered; but in one of them caskets of jewellery, vases, and clothing had been left unnoticed. The princess was Sat hathor ant, named on the canopic jars (B.L.T. xiv, xv). There was a crown

formed of a broad band of polished gold with rosettes around; three pairs of streamers hanging down, and a double feather of gold rising at the back (pl. v); pectorals of her father Senusert II and her husband Λmenemhat III (pls. i, vi, xi); girdles of gold lion-heads (ii) and cowries (iii); inlaid bracelets (iv), collars, silver mirror, and many small armlets and motto-fasteners. On the arrangement see A.E. 1920, 74; and on the caskets A.E. 1921, 4. Two granite sarcophagi of the family at Lahun have the same extraordinary accuracy of work as that of the king.



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Hammamat, stele of Khouy (C.M.H. 47).
Koptos, stele (L.M.R. 20702).
Karnak, red-granite statues (L.S.K. 42011-2-3).
         statue by Sebekhetep III (A.S. iv, 26).
Deir el Bahri statues (N.E. I, xix; II, ii; B.G.S. 158-9-60).
            stele for Neb-hepu-ra (N.E. I, xxiv).
Lugsor, altar, C. Mus.
Gebeleyn, base of statue, C. Mus.
Aswan inscription, yr. 6 (P.S. 262).
                   yr. 10 (P.S. 340).
Elephantine inscription (A.Z. xiii, 50).
Sehevl inscription (C.M. I, 85, 14; 86, 20; 87, 39).
      canal record (Rec. xiii, 202; A.Z. xxxii, 63).
Bigch, throne of granite statue (L.D. Text IV, 173).
Arcika, boulder, name (M.W.A. 4).
Amada, name (W.L.N. liii, 1).
Toshkeh, shrine of Gebel Agg (W.L.N. lxvi).
Mirgisse, small temple, steles (J.E.A. 1916, 182).
Buhen, in temple of Hatshepsut (M.W.B. 41, 42).
Geziret el Malik, red granite stele (J.E.A. 1916, 181).
Semneh, frontier stele (L.D. II, 136 i).
         fort and temple (L.D. I, 111-112).
         named by Tehutmes III (L.D. III, 54, 55).
Kummeh, fort and temple (L.D. I, 111-112).
Sphinx, diorite, N.Y. (A.E. 1920, 127).
Senusertonkh stele (B.A.C. 270, pl. v).
Mortar of black granite, C. Mus. 18735.
Cylinders (P.S.C. 12, 5, 14-16; H.C.S. 2615-20; M.D. liv, 1;
  P.I. viii, 28).
Scarabs (P.S.C. 12, 5, 1-13; H.C.S. 119-137; N.S.C. 36009;
  N.Sc. 93; ix, 22, 24; P. Mus., T. Mus., G. Coll., P.Sc.
  233-249; W.S.B. 218).
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#### Dated Monuments

Year VI, Aswan, P.S. 262. VII, Anher-nekht, B.G.S. 168. VIII, Ameny, B.G.S. 169; Seheyl, Rec. xiii, 202; C.M.I. 86, 20. X, Aswan, L.D. II, 136 c. XIII, Mentu-saa, C. Mus. M.A. 658. XIV, Hammamat, C.M.H. 47. XV, Khenems, A.Z. xxxviii, 42; Ptah-snefru, M.A. II, xxvii a. XVI, Semneh, L.D. II, 136 h. XIX, Săsatet and Ameny, Ms.M. II, 217. XXVI, Abydos, Berl. 1204. XXVIII, Kahun, G.K. xxi, 3, 7.

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Queens—MERSEGER (B.M. 846; L.D. III, lv a).

NEFERT-HENT (M.F.D. I, 54).

Daughters—Ment (M.F.D. I, 56, 59).

Sentsenb (,, 56).

Meryt (,, 69).

Săt-hathor (,, 59, 62).
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The pyramid of this king differs from others by being entered from a pit far from the pyramid, on the west

(M.F.D. II, xv). Another pit at the N.E. corner led to a gallery passing the tombs of the queen Nefert-hent and three princesses. Unfortunately M. de Morgan did not finish the description of the discoveries. The tomb of Sentsenb is inscribed on a limestone sarcophagus. The jewellery of the princess Săt-hathor was found in a recess in the floor. Her pectoral bears the name of Senusert II, while a scarab has the name of Senusert III; hence she was probably daughter of the former and sister of the



Fig. 109.—One of the royal pectorals inlaid with stones,
Dahshur pyramid mausoleum.

latter, who buried her in his pyramid mausoleum. This jewellery is a treasure only paralleled by that of Lahun. A pectoral of gold is richly inlaid with minute work in carnelian and light and dark blue stone or paste; the design is like that of the pectoral on the breast of Nefert, her father's queen (see the Tanis statues in the Gizeh Museum), the cartouche of Scnusert II, surmounted by neb neteru, and supported on either side by a hawk on nub, with the sun and uraeus behind. Bracelets, necklaces of gold cowries, pendants of lions and lions' claws in gold,

and strings of beads in gold, amethyst, and amazonite, make up this splendid equipment of a princess.

The name of this king in the Greek lists, Lakheres, is quite accounted for by the corruption of X into  $\Lambda$ , by omission of the top; thus altering Kho-kau-ra, or Khokeres,

into Lakheres.

In the Delta, Senusert seems to have been very active as a builder. At Tanis an architrave of red granite bears his name (P.T. I, ii, 7); at Nebesheh stood statues in vellow quartzite, one of the thrones of which is preserved (B. Mus.; P.N. ix, 2); at Khataaneh are the jambs of red granite, lying by the lintel of Amenemhat I (A.Z. xxiii, 12); at Tell Mokdam are the bases of two statues (N.A. 20, iv, xii); at Bubastis he appears to have rebuilt the temple, there being several blocks and architraves bearing his name, and a portion of a long inscription about a war against the negroes, probably also of this time (N.B. 10, xxxiii, xxxiv). Memphis appears to have been passed

over in this reign.

The gold shell found at Riggeh has the name formed in the applied wire work, which was a fashion in this age. At Herakleopolis are some great granite blocks, with the name, reused for a Roman gateway: also limestone blocks (P.E. xi, xiii, xiv), showing that construction had been on a large scale. At El Bersheh is the remarkable tomb of Tehuti-hetep, with the scene of dragging a colossus on a sledge. The figure was of this nomarch of Hermopolis, of royal dimensions, being 13 cubits, or over 22 feet high. It was quarried in the alabaster quarry of Hat-nub, a few miles to the south, and brought as a squared block to be sculptured afterward in the city. It is clear that such a statue could not be placed in the tomb, nor would there be any fit place for it at the cliff where the tomb is cut. It must have been placed in the temple of Hermopolis, and if ever the temple of Eshmuneyn is cleared, probably parts of this statue will be found (N.Br.I).

At Abydos, towards the south, is a very unusual form of tomb for this king. The temple at the foot of the desert measured 177 × 107 feet enclosed with a temenos wall. Two seated figures of red sandstone, much broken, gave the name of the king (M.A.A. 57, xx). Behind this at the

foot of the cliff is a great enclosure 520 × 296 feet, with forecourt, and false mastabas to hold the chips of rock excavation. To one side of the middle of the enclosure is a great funnel-shaped hollow full of sand, in order to protect a sloping passage and a shaft which descends to two small chambers. Out of the roofs of these proceeds another passage which suddenly drops into a great pit, another great pit follows, to check plunderers, and beyond these the passage continues. A sloping part is then entirely blocked with granite plugs, at the end of which on the side of the passage was a concealed granite sarcophagus. The passage continued, lined with great slabs of quartzite sandstone; it turned round and ended in a blank chamber. It was a very ingenious way of taking the plunderer on far beyond the burial; yet it was futile (A.C.W. xxxvi-xliv).

A granite statue was found in the temple of Abydos,

and a fine portrait head.

At Hammamat we meet an inscription which shows that Herakleopolis, now Ahnas, was adorned by him: "In the fourteenth year, the eighteenth of Khoiak, in the reign of Kho·kau·ra, beloved of Min of Koptos, behold his majesty ordered the going to Rohanu to bring the monuments which his majesty ordered him to make for Hershef, lord of Herakleopolis (even the living chief Kha·kau·ra ever living!), in good Bekhnu stone. He sent me as overseer of works on account of my excellence, a true commander, known to his lord. He overthrew four eastern countries, and brought excellent tribute of the Tehenu (Libyans); he who says what is good and reports pleasing things, Khuy, son of Hepy." The fulsome repetitions we have reduced in this.

At Karnak were two colossal red-granite statues, and a small one of sandstone; here is the finest portrait of the king (L.S.K. vi). The statues at Deir el Bahri are of coarser work.

At Aswan we begin to reach the great activities of this king in reducing Nubia. Inscriptions of officials are found, and a record of making a canal past the cataract. Sati is represented as giving life to Senusert, when "in the eighth year, under the majesty of Kho kau ra, living for ever, ordered his majesty to be made a canal anew; the

name of this canal is the 'most excellent of ways of Kkokau ra ever living.' Then his majesty sailed southward to crush Ethiopia the vile. Length of this canal, 150 cubits; breadth, 20 cubits; depth, 14 cubits." This canal was used again by Tahutmes I, and was cleared and reopened by Tahutmes III, who gave the standing order, "The fishers of Elephantine shall cut this canal every year" (Rec. xiii, 202).

No modern canal has been attempted in this place; and instead of a canal 34 feet wide and 24 feet deep, up



Fig. 110.—View of Semneh (from L.D. ii, 112).

which any Nile boat could pass, we have resorted to a

railway with a shift of cargo at each end of it.

The canal was a part of the great preparations for the conquest of Nubia, and Senusert left his statue on the isle of Bigeh, above the cataract, in honour of the gods of the region (L.L. 120). Pressing on, he defeated the negroes in different campaigns, of which we have records of the eighth, sixteenth, and the nineteenth years. On a tablet set up at Semneh (Fig. 110), we have a characteristic inscription, showing much both of the king and the people. "In the sixteenth year, the month Phamenoth, made his majesty the southern boundary unto Heh. I (the king) made my boundary south of my father's; I did more than was committed to me by them; I the king

both say and did it. It was the device of my heart, which was done by me; eager to capture, powerful to succeed, and not slothful; attacking the attacker, silent or answering according to the matter, for if one is silent after attack it strengthens the will of the enemy. Eagerness is valiant, and base is the coward who is driven back. It is truly a coward who is oppressed upon his own boundary: for the negro obeys as soon as the lips are opened; an answer makes him draw back; he turns his back to the impetuous. They are not valiant men, they are miserable, both tails and bodies (a joke at the hide girdles and tails, which always amused the Egyptians); my majesty saw it myself; it is no fable. I captured their wives, led away their peoples; I went out to their wells (in the desert valleys), and smote their cattle, and destroyed their corn, and set fire to it. By my life and my father's life, what I say is in truth.

"And every son of mine who confirms this boundary which my majesty has made, he is my son, he is born of my majesty, a son who av nges his father (like Horus), who confirms the boundary of him who begat him. But he who destroys it, even who fights not for it, he is not my son, he is not one born to me. Moreover, my majesty caused a statue of my majesty to be made upon this boundary, which my majesty made from the desire that ye should fight for it."

These conquests in Nubia were permanently secured

by thus pushing back the frontier of Egypt to above the Second Cataract, and building on the hills of Semneh and Kummeh two forts commanding the river, about thirty miles above the cataract. The fort of Semneh is on the west bank, bordering on the river, and on an almost inaccessible height of platform, artificially raised, and containing a temple. That of Kummeh, on the east bank, is on a natural height, which is very strong, and also contains a temple (L.D. i, III-II2; Ms.A. 29, 30). A decree for the frontier guards was placed at Semneh:

"This is the southern frontier; fixed in the eighth year of the reign of his majesty Kho-kau-ra, ever living. Let it not be permitted to any negro to pass this boundary northward, either on foot or by boat; nor any sort of cattle, oxen, goats, or sheep belonging to the negroes

Except when any negro comes to trade in the land of Aken, or on any business, let him be well treated. But without allowing any boat of the negroes to pass Heh northward for ever "(L.D. ii, 136 i).

In after-ages this king was revered as the founder of Ethiopia, and the later kings of the XVIIIth dynasty specially adored him in their temples at Semneh, Kum-

meh, Dosheh, Shatawi, Ellesieh, and Amada.

Some private inscriptions of this reign also remain at

Semneh and Kummeh (L.D. ii, 136 d-g).

The southern wars were not, however, the only activity of the reign. The stele which Sebek-khu set up at Abydos records a Nubian war, and also a war in Southern Syria at Sekmem, which some have supposed to be Shechem. This seems to have only been a raid for plunder, and not to have led to any permanent occupation. Later the name of Sebek-khu was placed at Semneh recording the height of the Nile, when he must have been 66 years old (L.D. II, 139 b). There are several monuments and references to this king throughout Nubia, up to his frontier forts of Semneh and Kummeh, where he was venerated by Tehutmes III in the later temple.

A curious illustration of the worship of the kings is preserved in a long hymn to Senusert III on a papyrus found at Kahun. After an opening adulation of titles comes the poetical part of the hymn of praise, stanza after stanza of ten lines, the most perfect example of

Egyptian poetry that we know.

#### 1

I Twice joyful are the gods,

thou hast established their offerings.

2 Twice joyful are thy princes,

thou hast formed their boundaries.

3 Twice joyful are thy ancestors before thee, thou hast increased their portions.

4 Twice joyful is Egypt at thy strong arm, thou hast guarded the ancient order.

5 Twice joyful are the aged with thy administration, thou hast widened their possessions.

6 Twice joyful are the two regions with thy valour, thou hast caused them to flourish.

7 Twice joyful are thy young men of support, thou hast caused them to flourish. 8 Twice joyful are thy veterans,

thou hast caused them to be vigorous.

9 Twice joyful are the two lands in thy might, thou hast guarded their walls.

Twice joyful be thou, O Horus! widening thy boundary, mayest thou renew an eternity of life.

#### II

I Twice great are the owners of his city, for he is a multitude and an host.

2 Twice great are the owners of his city,

for he is a flood-gate pouring forth streams of its water-3 Twice great are the owners of his city, [floods.

for he is a bower, letting every man lie down in the mid-4 Twice great are the owners of his city, [day heat

for he is a screen like walls built of the sharp stones of 5 Twice great are the owners of his city, [Kesem.

for he is a refuge, shutting out the robber.

6 Twice great are the owners of his city, for he is an asylum, shielding the timid from his enemy.

7 Twice great are the owners of his city,

for he is a shade in the high Nile to provide coolness in the 8 Twice great are the owners of his city, [summer.

for he is a warm corner of shelter in the winter.

9 Twice great are the owners of his city,

for he is a rock shielding from the blast in the stormy day.

Twice great are the owners of his city, [his boundary. for he is as the goddess Sekhet to the foes who tread on

#### III

He has come to us, he has taken the land of the well, the double crown is placed on his head.

2 He has come, he has united the two lands,

he has joined the kingdom of the upper land with the 3 He has come, he has ruled Egypt, [lower.

he has placed the desert in his power.

4 He has come, he has protected the two lands, he has given peace in the two regions.

5 He has come, he has made Egypt to live, he has destroyed its afflictions.

6 He has come, he has made the aged to live, he has opened the breath of the people.

7 He has come, he has trampled on the nations, he has smitten the Anu, who knew not his terror.

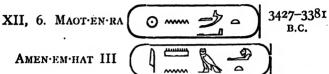
8 He has come, he has protected (?) his frontier, he has rescued the robbed.

of what his mighty arm brings to us.

10 He has come, we bring up our children, we bury our aged by his good favour. The remaining stanzas are incomplete, but we can see through this a real national fervour of delight at the repression of the negro tribes, and the establishment of security and safety in the country.

The remains of the family have been noticed with the

king's pyramid.



Pyramid, Hawara (P.H., P.K., P. Lab.). Dahshur (M.F.D. 11, 98; xvi, xvii). pyramidion (A.S. III, 207). Yehudiyeh, base of figure (P.H.I. i, 7). cylinder (P.H.I. i, 12). Memphis, statue (Berl. 1121; B.R. 2). lintel of gateway (P.Tar. I, 32, lxxvii). Turra, stele (L.D. II, 143 i). Dahshur, canopics (A.Z. xxxvii, 62). Fig. 111. jewellery (M.F.D. I, xx, xxi). Scarab. ritual for mummy (A.S. 111, 206). Lisht, fragment of statue (G.J.L. 106). Meydum, Pa-nesut-să shrine (B.G.S. 174). Lahun, jewellery and casket (B.L.T. iv, vi, vii, xi). Kahun, papyri (G.K. xxxi). Hawara, statue (M.E. II, xv). shrines (P. Lab. xxiii). statues of gods (P. Lab. xxiv-xxvii). ٠, altar, Berl. 1195 (I.D. II, 140 l). canopic jars (P.K. v). column, etc. (P.H. xxvii, 12; L.D. 140 b-1). ., architraves (L.D. II, 140 a, c, g, i). ., inscriptions (P.K. xi, 1; P.H. vi, 5a; P. Lab. xxviii, .. xxix; B.G.S. 171). Ptolemaic stele (Rec. xxxvi, 81). altar (P.H. vi, 2, 3). Crocodilopolis, pylon (P.H. xxvii, 10, 11). part of altar (L.M.R. 20699). Biahmu, colossi (P.H. xxvi, xxvii, 2-9). inscription (P.H. xxvii, 1). Herakleopolis, ka name (P.E. xiv). Maghara, steles (G.P.S. 23-32). Nasb (G.P.S. 46). (G.P.S. 51-56, 83-117, 131-2? Serabit 142?) (see dated list). (P.Sin.)

Beni Hasan, Khnem hetep figure (B.G.S. 182).

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Abydos, great stele (L.M.R. 20538; B.A.R. 743; M.A. II, 24-26).
         private (L.M.R. 20231, 20538, 20773).
         scarab (P.C.A. III, 23).
Hammamat (C.M.H. 17, 18, 42, 43, 48, 81, 96, 108).
Koptos, vulture (P. Kop. xi).
        cylinder (P. Kop. xxiv, 1).
Karnak, black-granite statue (L.S.K. 42014).
         statuette (L.S.K. 42019).
Hierakonpolis, statuette (Rec. x. 130).
El Kab, stele (S.B.A. 1905, 107).
Aswan, cylinder in tomb 24 (A.S. iv. 73).
        inscriptions (P.S. 84, 98, 151, 153-4; C.M.I. 27, 211).
Dehmid. stele (A.S. IX, 109).
Kuban inscription (L.D. II, 138 g).
Buhen, bead and scarab (M.W.B. 186, 201).
Semneh Mentusa, stele (B.G.S. 176).
        and Kummeh, Nile levels, see dated list below.
Block, Copenhagen (P.Ins. I, 92; III, 24).
Statuette, Hermitage (G.E.C. 84; Rec. xv, 133).
          marble (Rec. xiv. 55).
Sphinx, Miramar (Cat. xxix).
        C. Mus. 29337 (Rec. xiv, 25).
Gold shell, U.C. (P. Am. xiv).
Gem in gold ring, P. Mus. (S.B.A. 1885, 183).
Pectoral and bracelets, Dahshur (M.F.D. I, xx, xxi).
                        Lahun (B.L.T. iv, vi, vii, xi).
Hawk. base (P.S.C. 12, 6, 27).
Crocodile, base (P.S.C. 12, 6, 28).
Weight, 2 debens, U.C.
Bead, Mac. C. (S.B.A. 1902, 249).
Vases, Byblos (A.I.C.R. 1922, 148, 234).
Scarabs (P.S.C. 12, 6, 1-8; H.C.S. 141-7, 149-52; Turin, P.Sc.
          259).
        Dahshur (N.S.C. 37411).
Cylinders (P.S.C. 12, 6, 10-20; H.C.S. 148, 2622-2638; C. Mus.;
             P.Sc. 270; F.S. 35, 37-9).
          of six kings, Brocklehurst (P.Sc. 272).
Plaques (P.S.C. 12, 6 21-4; P.Sc. 258; F.S. 36; P.D. xx)
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### Dated Monuments (75)

Year I, Sebekemsaf, L.M.R. 20536; Săsati, P.Ins. II, 52; Ykher nefert, L.M.R. 20140. II, Maghara, G.P.S. 23, 24, 25; Serabit, G.P.S. 82, 83; Dehmid, stele, A.S. IX, 109; Hammamat, C.M.H. 43. III, Hammamat, C.M.H. 96. IV, Serabit, G.P.S. 85; P.Sin. 118; Kummeh, L.D. II, 139 c. V, G.P.S. 86, 87; Kummeh, L.D. II, 139 d. VI, G.P.S. 88, 89; Kummeh, L.D. II, 139 e. VII, Semneh, L.D. II, 139 a. VIII, Serabit, G.P.S. 91. IX, Semneh, L.D. II, 139 b; Kummeh, 139 g. X, Abydos, stele, L.M.R. 20773. XI, Kuban, 138 g. XIII, Serabit, G.P.S. 92. XIV, Kummeh, L.D. II, 139 h; Aswan, P.S. 151. XV, Aswan, P.S. 153, 84; Kummeh, L.D. II, 139 k; Serabit, G.P.S. 93. XVIII,

Serabit, G.P.S. 115? XIX, Hammamat, C.M.H. 17, 18, 48, 108. XX, Hammamat, C.M.H. 42; Nasb, G.P.S. 46; Serabit, G.P.S. 100. XXII, Kummeh, Nile, L.D. II, 139 k. XXIII, Kummeh, Nile, 139 l; Serabit, G.P.S. 131? 102; P.Sin. 113. XXIV, Kummeh, L.D. II, 139 i; Aswan, P.S. 98; C.M.I. 27, 211. XXV, Aswan, P.S. 154; Serabit, G.P.S. 103; Berl. 1198, A.Z. xxxviii, 42; Senusert senbu, B.G.S. 177. XXVII, Haremsaf, S.B.A. 1885, 179; Serabit, G.P.S. 104. XXVIII, Asa, B.G.S. 178. XXX, Maghara, G.P.S. 26; Serabit, G.P.S. 105; Kummeh, Nile, 139 n. XXXVII, Kummeh, Nile, 139 n. XXXVII, Kummeh, Nile, 139 n. XXXVIII, Kummeh, Nile, 139 n. XXXVIII, Kummeh, Nile, 139 p. XLII, Maghara, G.P.S. 27; Kummeh, Nile, 139 p. XLII, Maghara, G.P.S. 28, 29; Serabit, G.P.S. 142. XLIII, Maghara, G.P.S. 28, 29; Serabit, G.P.S. 142. XLIII, Maghara, G.P.S. 30; Turra, L.D. 143 i. XLIV, Serabit, G.P.S. 53, 107; El Kab, Stobart, S.B.A. 1905, 107; Sebekerheb, Serabit, B.G.S. 179, 180. XLV, Serabit, G.P.S. 54, 108. XLVI, Kahun, G.K. xiv, 9.

Queen—OĂT, stele, altar, Dalshur (M.F.D. İI, 101).

? Black granite statue, Berl. 1117 (L.D. II, 120, f, g).

Daughters-Ptah neseru. Burial (P.K. iv, v).

Sphinx, black granite (A.S. iv, 133).
Statue, Elephantine (A.S. viii, 48).
Alabaster altar (P.K. V).
Block of granite (Rec. x, 142).
? Ivory wand, Lisht (G.J.L. Fig. 68).
Papyrus, Kahun (G.K. xxxv, 34, p. 80).
Hathor-hetep, canopic (M.F.D. II, 105).
? Sebeknefru, later queen.

Private Monuments (and see Dated Monuments)

Sebek·hetep (L.A. X).
Pa·nesut·sā (B.G.S. 174).
Neb·pu·senusert (B.G.S. 175).
Mentu·sā (B.G.S. 181).
Onkef (B.G.S. 181).
Sebekemsaf (L.M.R. 20536).
Khenemsu (P.Sin. 94).

The pyramid of Amenemhat was placed by him at the entrance to the Fayum province, which he so largely organized; from the top of it almost every part of the Oasis can be seen, out to the line of hills which bound its western border. It is also within sight of the cliffs on the eastern side of the Nile; and it thus links together the valley on which all the other pyramids look down, with this western Oasis which was the special care of this king (Fig. 112).

In construction this pyramid differs from all others

known, but is more like that of Senusert II than any other. The mass of it is entirely of brick, which was coated with fine limestone, like the other pyramids. The passages leading to the central chamber are peculiarly complex, and laboriously planned to defeat plunderers (Fig. 113). A new system was elaborated here, of dumb chambers, with gigantic sliding trap-doors in the roofs leading to further passages. The explorer who had found the entrance, in the unusual place on the south side, descended a long staircase, which ended in a dumb chamber. The roof of this, if slid aside, showed another passage, which was

with blocks. This was a mere blind. to divert attention from the real passage, which stood ostentatiously open. A plunderer has, however, fruitlessly mined his way through all these blocks. On going dowr passage. real another dumb chamreached: ber was another sliding trapdoor was passed: another passage led to a third dumb chamber; a third trap-door was passed; and now



Fig. 112.—Bust of Amenembat III from statue at St. Petersburg.

a passage led along past one side of the real sepulchre; and to amuse explorers, two false wells open in the passage floor, and the wrong side of the passage is filled with masonry blocks fitted in. Yet by some means the plunderers found a cross trench in the passage floor, which led to the chamber. Here another device was met. The chamber had no door, but was entered solely by one of the immense roof-blocks—weighing 45 tons—being left raised, and afterwards dropped into place on closing the pyramid. This had been mined through, and thus the royal interments were reached. They had been entirely burnt; and only fired grains of diorite and pieces

of lazuli inlaying showed the splendour of the decorations of the coffins.

The sepulchral chamber is one of the most remarkable works in Egypt. It is hollowed out in one block of glasshard yellow quartzite, cut and polished with exquisite truth. It is over 22 feet long by about 8 feet wide inside, and over 2 feet thick, so that it must weigh about 110 tons. The roof of it is formed of three blocks of the

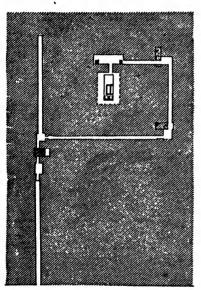


Fig. 113.—Plan of passages in Hawara pyramid. Scale 1000.

same material, one of 45 tons, by which entrance was obtained. another larger, and a third smaller. All of this was built into a pit in the rock; a limestone sloping roof was placed over it, the beams of which are 7 feet thick: over that brick arch was thrown, and the brick pyramid was built on it.

Inside the chamber is the sarcophagus of Amenemhat; flat around the sides, but with a projecting foot ornamented with panel pattern, and a curved lid. Subsequently a second coffin has been formed by building blocks between the

royal coffin and the wall, and a second lid was put over the space, for covering a second burial. Behind these two coffins stood two boxes of the same design, doubtless to hold the sepulchral vases, like the square box in the floor of Pepy's chamber. All of these objects were made of quartzite, some of it white and translucent; and there is no trace of inscription on this furniture, on the chamber, nor in any part of the pyramid. Below the water, which now half fills the chamber, were found pieces of the alabaster vases with the name of the king Maot-en-ra. And in the last of the passages was an alabaster altar and broken pieces of dishes, in the form of a half duck (all in G. Mus.),

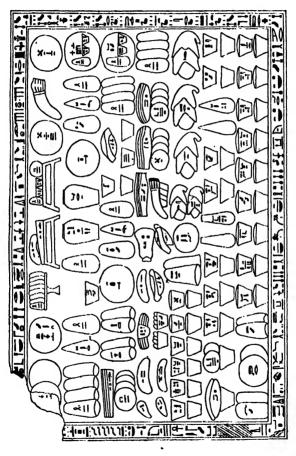


Fig. 114.--Alabaster altar of Ptah-neferu, Hawara pyramid.

inscribed for the "king's daughter Ptah-neferu," who was doubtless buried in the added sarcophagus space by the side of the king. This altar is peculiar for having figures

of a great number of offerings, eighty-six of which bear names (P.K. 12-17, ii-v) (Fig. 114).

Adjoining the pyramid on the south side stood an immense building; part of which, at least, was the temple of Amenemhat. Some of the construction was due to his daughter Sebek-neferu, who afterwards came to the throne (P.H. 6, xxvii, 12). This was the building so celebrated in classical times as the Labyrinth. The site of that has been much disputed; but Strabo states that it was on the canal between the Nile and Arsinoë; and by a papyrus found at Gurob, of Ptolemaic age, we know now that boats on the canal leading to Ptolemais in the Fayum, passed by the Labyrinth; every part of that canal has now been examined, without finding any trace of an early building except this great site.

All of the constructions have been removed for stone, and there is no trace of the extent of the building except the concrete or beton beds of the foundations, and the immense masses of chips over them, which have resulted from the destruction of the building by the quarriers of Roman age. The brick houses, mistaken by Lepsius for the Labyrinth, formed the village of the Roman age. built on the top of the fragments of the temple. whole area of the building is about 1000 feet long and 800 feet broad, or enough to include all the temples of Karnak and of Lugsor. From the scanty indications of the levels of the ground, and the fragmentary accounts of ancient authors, it appears as if the Labyrinth were a peristyle temple, with a central passage, and two great crossways: the first crossway with courts or small temples opening on each side of it; the second crossway being a hall with a long row of columns, and with courts opening on the farther side of it, much like the temple of Abydos (P.H. 4-8: P.Lab. 20).

In the line of courts along the back of the temple there seems to have been in each a great granite shrine with two figures of the king; two such were found (P.Lab. xxiii) and part of a third. Parts of figures of the gods were found carved in hard white limestone (P.Lab. xxiv-xxvii), and parts of inscriptions (P.Lab. xxviii, xxix). For plan of the site and restoration see P.Lab. xxxii, 29. It has been supposed from the tales of Herodotos that the

kings of the XXVIth dynasty had built here, either as restoring or adding to the older temples; but there seems to be no trace of works of that date to be found here. Amenemhat continued to be honoured at Hawara until Ptolemaic times, as persons were named after him (P.H. v, 4, II), and part of a dedication of restoration by a Ptolemy and Kleopatra still lies on the site (P.Lab. 30, xxxviii), which must be at least as late as 193 B.C.

The southern brick pyramid at Dahshur also belonged to Amenemhat III (M.F.D. II, i, xvi, xvii). The entrance was on the east side, near the S.E. corner. The system of passages, with a long blind passage, is much like that of Hawara. Nothing of the king was found here, and it is evidently the secondary pyramid, and not the actual tomb, of which the sarcophagus, fragments of coffin and of canopic jars were found at Hawara. Doubts about this (M.F.D. II, 106) are quite misplaced, as the pieces of canopic jars had obviously been long in the water of the tomb, and could not have been obtained anywhere else. The description of the Dahshur pyramid is very scanty and defective; there is a magnificent sarcophagus in it, but no measures are given either of its size or accuracy. A thorough report on all these fine sarcophagi of this age is greatly needed, correct to a thousandth of an inch, as those at Lahun are the greatest triumphs of fine work that are known.

The black-granite apex of the pyramid was found sticking out of the ground some time after the excavations at the pyramid were ended. It is a magnificent work in black granite, polished, and perfectly inscribed (C. Mus.).

The fine statue from Memphis in Berlin belongs to the great works done there, of which Herodotus records the northern gate; at this gateway still lies the immense lintel 12 feet 11 inches long, 50 inches high and 30 inches thick, weighing 10 tons (P.Tar. I, 32, lxxvii), inscribed by this king.

The jewellery from Dahshur and Lahun is sumptuous, but inferior in design and execution to that of the earlier reigns. The pectorals are too crowded in design, or else clumsy copies of the earlier. The bracelet inlays have only blue paste instead of lazuli, as also glazed inlays were used in the pectoral instead of lazuli and amazonite.

The quarries of Turrah by Cairo have a fine stele of the king (L.D. ii, 143 i), showing that he obtained stone from there, probably for the Labyrinth. No such good stone could be had elsewhere in Egypt, as we learn by Una bringing from thence the best blocks for his tomb, against the Nile stream all the way up to Abydos.

The Fayum province was the great monument of Amenemhat III. The deep hollow in the desert, descend-

ing over 120 feet below the sca level, was perhaps first

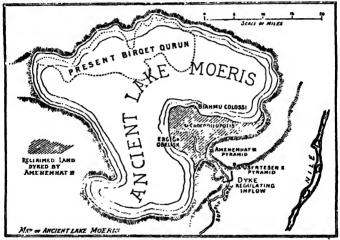


Fig. 115.—Map of the ancient Lake Moeris in the Fayum basin. The shaded part is that reclaimed from the lake by Amenemhat III.

produced by the upheavals and dislocations of the strata which caused the great fault of the Nile valley. But it is tolerably certain that from the earliest human period the Fayum was filled with water by the Nile, as there is a channel into it level with the Nile valley. This inflow of mud-bearing water had deposited beds of carth over the higher levels, where the Nile water first spread out into the lake. Of this high-level period many remains are seen, pebble beaches high on the dry side of the basin, and a quay of the town of Dimey on the western side, constructed in Greek times, but now dry far above the lake. There cannot be any question, therefore, as to this condition of things having existed (Fig. 115). The keeper of the Lake of the Crocodile or Ta·she is mentioned from the earliest times (P.M. xviii).

The first stage of interference with nature here seems to have been under Amenemhat I, as the earlier mentions of a town or district probably refer to the shores of the lake. His statue at Crocodilopolis (Medinet) shows that he had reclaimed a considerable surface from the lake; and a fragment of a gigantic thick dyke of earth, just beyond the ancient temple, may well be a part of his first dam, enclosing the higher part of the lake bed, and so bringing it into use for cultivation, or may even belong to some still carlier reclamation. This enclosure must have extended as far as Begig, three or four miles southwest of the temple, in the time of Senusert I, whose obelisk lies there. Then under Amenemhat III came the great extension of this damming-out system; and by means of a vast embankment, some twenty miles in length, an almost level area of about forty square miles, or over 20,000 acres, was secured from the lake, and became one of the most fertile provinces of the country. On the prominent northern corner of this great work (now known as Biahmu) were placed two massive platforms of stone walling, filled in with earth, from which arose two seated colossi of the king. These were monoliths about thirty-nine feet high, placed upon pedestals. Carved in the glassy quartzite, and polished brilliantly, they glittered as landmarks seen across the lake (P.H. 53-56, xxvi). These were doubtless the statues on pyramids seen by Herodotos. The fragments of the statues, etc., are now in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford. The great work of Amenemhat was not only the reclaiming of all this land, but also the regulation of the flow of the Nile in and out of the lake. Down to the time of Herodotos this annual flow continued, and the lake served to hold part of the surplus of the high Nile, and to let that flow out again during the low Nile. Two causes, however, led to the abandonment of this system: first, the Nile always deposits more earth near its main bed than elsewhere, consequently the bcd rises faster than the western side of the Nile plain, and hence there is now a difference of several feet across the Nile valley. As soon as this became considerable, it would be impracticable to get the water out of the Fayum again into the raised Nile bed. Secondly, the land was much needed for a new settlement of the Macedonian soldiers of Ptolemy Soter. Hence the inflow of the Nile was checked down to the amount actually required by the province, and the lake was gradually dried up under the earlier Ptolemies. Colonies of soldiers and their families were settled on the newly-reclaimed land, towns and temples sprang up as the lake receded, and it has been reduced to a low, though fluctuating, level ever since (P.H. 2). Amenemhat III also rearranged the temple which his ancestor had built at Crocodilopolis; the red-granite blocks of the pylon bear his name, though they have been re-used by later restorers (P.H. 57, xxvii). The ancient name of the town, *Shed*, means the rescued or extracted, and thus refers to the extraction or saving of the land from the lake. The former theory of Linant, that the Lake Moeris was on the high plateau, was founded on a misconception of the levels, and of the physical features of the country, and needs no further consideration. As the remains within the dam-or in Linant's lake-are of the XIIth dynasty, and the remains outside of the dam are all Greco-Roman, it is obvious that the inside must have been dry land, while the outside was the lake, until late times.

The celebrated Lake Moeris was then the natural basin of the Fayum oasis, regulated and utilized by Amenemhat III. The extent of the basin up to Nile level was such that its circuit was equal to the coastline of Egypt, according to Herodotos, and this was approximately the case. The supposed extension of it into other desert valleys to the south-west is impossible during historical times, as the hills rise above the Nile level between the two depressions. The temple at the capital was the heart of all this work.

In Sinai Amenemhat III kept up almost continuous works during his reign, leaving dates of his years 2, 4, 8, 13, 15, 18, 20, 23, 25, 27, 30, 38, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, and 45. (See list of dated monuments.)

At Abydos was a great stele concerning a tomb of the

treasurer Sehetep ab ra, and work at the temple, with a hymn to the king, not equal in structure or ideas to the

hymn to Senusert III from Kahun.

In the Wady Hammamat, we find that Amenemhat sent out an expedition to get stone, in his nineteenth year, for his buildings in the Fayum (C.M.H. 17, 19, 48, 108) apparently for the temple of Sebek at Crocodilopolis. The party made a causeway to draw the stones upon, and brought ten statues of five cubits high. In the second year is a record of the overthrow of the negroes, and opening up of the road of the Aamu (C.M.H. 43).



Fig. 116.—Two tablets of Amenemhat III, Wady Maghara. (Now destroyed.)

These expeditions continued to need considerable forces, as in that of the nineteenth year "multitudes of soldiers, even two thousand," are mentioned (C.M.H. 19). At Koptos a colossal vulture in hard limestone was dedicated by Amenemhat, "beloved of Sekhet" (now in G. Mus.). The black-granite statue at Karnak shows that the

The black-granite statue at Karnak shows that the capital was not neglected. We next meet with Amenemhat at Hierakonpolis, where a black-granite figure of his was found (G. Mus.; Rec. x, 130). On the opposite bank, at El Kab, was a stele in the forty-fourth year, concerning the repair of the wall of Senusert II (S.B.A. 1905, 107).

At Aswan are several private tablets dated in this reign, but none of historical value (P.S. 84, 98, 151, 153, 154). A stele of an official named Senusert, at Kuban, opposite Dakkeh in Nubia, belongs also to this date (L.D. ii, 138 g).

But at Semneh and Kummeh a most interesting series of inscriptions is found, brief though they are, recording the height of the Nile. The great waterworks of Amenemhat, for the regulation of the Nile by the intake and outflow at the Fayum, required an early notice of the rise and fall of the river; and official records were kept of it on the rocks, while probably the news would be sent down by some signals from hill to hill, till it reached the lower country. These registers of the high Nile (see L.D. ii, 139) involve a difficult question, as they are about twenty-five feet above the present level of the river (L.L. 510). As the mouth sign beginning the inscription is written, bisected by the upper line in some cases, it seems as if it were the actual water level, and not a record placed at some determinate height, of ten or twenty cubits measured by a cord above the torrent of the full stream; otherwise such an explanation might seem the most feasible, as it would be easier to mark rocks, and examine old marks, on some spot well above the water. Such a possibility nceds consideration on the spot. Granting, however, that these are the actual levels, the only view seems to be that the Nile bed has been deepened there or else more water was discharged. It has often been suggested that the breaking through of barriers at Silsileh, or at Aswan, might affect it; but as those places are two or three hundred feet lower level, any change there would be as imperceptible at Semneh as a lock on the lower Thames would be at Oxford. Moreover, the early graffiti and tombs at Silsileh and Aswan are only fairly above the river at present, and show that no great change has occurred there in historical times. The Semneh levels, then, must point to a lowering of the bed in Upper Nubia, or a larger discharge of the river. This might occur by three different causes: by the erosion of the bed, or else by a slight elevation of the southern end of Nubia, thus making the water pour faster out of its channel, and so lie at a lower level. possibility is that the volcanic rise which cut off Tanganyika and other sources from the Nile was subsequent, and there may have been a larger discharge then, which would make a much higher water-level in the narrows of Semneh (A.E. 1922, 47). This change in the river would have been between the XIIth dynasty (high level marks at Semneh) and the XVIIIth dynasty (low level sculptures at Silsileh). Until a critical examination is thoroughly made of all the remains—especially trifling grassiti along the banks—in Upper Nubia, this vexed question must remain in abeyance (see on this L.L. 507-532).

Of other remains of Amenemhat, there is a fine statue usurped by Merenptah, possibly from Tanis, like other such usurpations, now in Berlin; and also another statue at Petrograd (Rec. xv, 136, i-iv); a headless sphinx of the Miramar collection (Cat. xxix); a small hawk inscribed on the base (F.P. Coll.); and many scarabs, cylinders, etc. One is a document of interest, giving the list of the six kings of the dynasty down to this point, in their proper order (Brocklehurst Coll.). A statue of an official of this

king was in the Sabatier Coll. (Rec. xiv, 55).

Of the close of this reign the highest date is at Serabit of the forty-fifth year. But a papyrus from Kahun is dated in a forty-sixth year, which can hardly be that of any king but Amenemhat III, and hence it is likely that his reign extended so far. As to whether he associated Amenemhat IV in coregency with him we cannot be certain. Such was the principle of this dynasty, especially in long reigns like this; yet there is no certain evidence at this point. Some monuments give the two cartouches side by side as equally adored, but there is no proof that either king was alive at the time, nor that both were alive (L.D. ii, 140 m; L.A. x). On the whole, it is not improbable that Amenemhat IV was associated for two or three years, but no double dating of this kind is yet known.

Of the family of Amenemhat, one daughter, Ptah neferu, appears to have died before her father, having been buried in his pyramid. Her alabaster altar and dishes remain (G. Mus.; P.K. v); the lower part of a seated figure from Elephantine (A.S. viii, 48); also an ivory wand, which might belong to an earlier princess, from Lisht. A papyrus reference from Kahun shows that she died before the king, and agrees with her burial being in his pyramid; there is also a block of black granite with her name and

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titles (Rec. x, 142). The other daughter, Sebek neferu, succeeded her brother, Amenemhat IV, on the throne.



Pyramid, Mazglunch (P.Lab. 49).

Abusir, paws of sphinx (Rec. xii, 213).

Kahun, papyrus (G.K. pl. xxxiii, p. 86).

Maghara, year VI (G.P.S. 33-4-5).

Serabit, year IV (G.P.S. 118; P.Sin. 115).

"year VII (G.P.S. 119-20; P.Sin. 125).

"year VII (G.P.S. 121).

"year IX (G.P.S. 122; P.Sin. 120).

"(G.P.S. 123, 124; P.Sin. 120).

"in shrine of kings (G.P.S. 124 a).

Shat cr rigal, tablet (P.S. 444).

Kummeh, tablet (L.D. II, 152 f).

Stele of Khuy, Stuttgart (S.S.S. I, 8, pl. vii).

Stele of Aunef, Am. III and IV (B.G.S. 219).

Plaque, B, Mus.

Scarabs (P.S.C. 12, 7; P.Sc. 273-5).

This reign shows the declension of the dynasty. The monuments are scanty and unimportant; they all fall, however, from the fourth to the ninth year, which gives some reason to suppose a coregency in the earlier part of the nine years' reign.

The two pyramids of Mazghuneh, just south of Dahshur, evidently continue the system of that of Hawara; as there is no subsidiary cemetery near them, and they seem not to have been completed, they belong to brief reigns. It is therefore probable that they belonged to Amenemhat IV and Sebekneferu. The southern was of brick, with foundations of a casing, but not a fragment of sloping casing to be found; the northern had neither brick nor stone over it. A burial had certainly been placed in the south pyramid, as a large alabaster duck-dish—like those of Hawara—was found (P.Lab. xliii). In the northern site the plunderers had cut away the limestone to enter, so it had been closed over a burial. The stairs to descend in the entrance, the

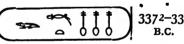
trap-door roofs to the chambers, the false entrances near the sarcophagus, are clearly modelled on the pyramid of Hawara.

At Serabit are large tablets of Haremsa in the sixth year, and of Zaf in the eighth year; there are also inscriptions of officials at Maghara; the years are quoted above.

The paws of a sphinx are of yellow quartzite sandstone, which was the material of the sarcophagi at Hawara and Mazghuneh, and of the trap-door roofs, as well as the whole monolith chamber at Hawara.

The name does not appear at all at Hawara, which is rather strange, as that of Sebekneferu occurs sometimes in the temple. At Shat er Rigal is a cartouche that may be of Amenemhat IV (P.S. 444). At Kummeh a brief tablet of the fifth year records the rise of the Nile (L.D. ii, 152 f). One papyrus of Kahun is dated in the sixth year of the reign (G.K. xxxiii), and others are probably of the first to tenth years. A plaque of green glazed schist (in the B. Mus.) bears the names of Amenemhat IV, with a cartouche Ameny. Only four scarabs are known, one in B. Mus., one in F.P. Coll., and two in the Louvre.

# XII, 8. Sebek-neferu



Pyramid, Mazghuneh (P.Lab. 49). Khataaneh, Sphinx (N.G. 9 c). Hawara, Temple (L.D. ii, 140, F.P. Coll.). Herakleopolis, block (A.S. xvii, 34). Cylinder (B. Mus.) (H.C.S. 2639); Scarab (G. Coll.).



Fig. 118.—Scarab (G. Coll.).

Of this queen, stated by Manetho to have been the sister of Amenemhat IV, we have very slight remains. The pyramid is described above, in the previous reign. A sphinx of grey granular siliceous rock at Khataaneh has an effaced cartouche between the paws, which may be that of this queen; but the *ka* name is entirely gone, and the cartouche only shows traces of a Ra, a square sign (pedestal

of the crocodile?), and three vertical lines. As no other cartouche agrees with this, it may be left to the credit of this queen.

At Hawara her name occurs as often as that of her father; as, beside the examples of Lepsius (L.D., ii, 140), a column (P.H. xxvii, 12) and a block (P.K. xi, 1) naming her have also been found there. How it is that she is associated with this temple, to the exclusion of her brother, is not clear; but the remains are so scanty that little can be argued about it.

The name occurs on large blocks of granite at Herakleopolis, which were formerly architraves, but re-used in



Fig. 119.—Cylinder, blue on white (B. Mus.).

Roman construction. The name there is (Ra)sebek·ka, Sebekshedti-neferu.

The finest small piece of the later part of the dynasty is of this queen, a beautiful cylinder (Fig. 119) of white schist glazed blue, of unusual size, and bearing all her titles: "Hor Ra-mert; double diadem Akhet kherp nebt taui; Hor nub Zed-kho; Nesut

bat (Sebek-shedti-neferu) onkh tha; Sebek shedti mery" (B. Mus.).

A scarab of hers is also known (G. Coll.).

Before parting from the XIIth dynasty, one remarkable point should be noticed. The reigns are all long, and yet it is generally assumed that the kings were each sons of their predecessors. Though the time of life of association as coregent may have been very uncertain, yet on a series this vagueness is so subdivided that it does not much affect the question. Setting aside Amenemhat I, who fought his way to the throne probably late in life, the reigns of the other kings, from being coregent, to adopting a successor as coregent, are 42, 32, 26, 38 (?), 44 years; the average of

the three certain ones at first is 33 years, or, including all of them, 36 years. Now, it is wholly unlikely that each of these kings had no son until they were so advanced in life. Either, then, their successors were not eldest sons, but only sons who were selected by the king as being most able, or sons of heiress-princesses; or else there have been several generations passed over, and grandsons were more usual as successors than direct sons. To reduce the average of 36 to the more likely average of 20 years, there must have been four grandsons adopted as coregents, passing over the direct sons. One clue to this peculiarity may lie in the female succession. There is some ground for supposing that the throne, like any other property, descended in the female line: and that the custom of brother and sister marriages arose from the desire that sons should inherit. If so, it is quite possible that the sons had no claim to the throne legally; but that the king had it in his choice to select the most suitable son or grandson, and by marrying him to a particular princess in the line, he thus created him the heir to the throne. It may also have been that the Ptolemaic custom already prevailed, that only the son of a reigning king, "born in the purple," could succeed, because only an acting king could personify the divine fatherhood of the line.

This great period of the XIIth dynasty is marked by somewhat the same characteristics as the first age of Egyptian development. It begins with a firm organization of the country, and a solidity and brilliancy of work that shows great and able guidance; that is succeeded by a time of tranquil internal prosperity, under the second Amenembat and Senusert, as before under the Vth dynasty; and then comes the tide of foreign conquest under Senusert III, as under Pepy I. A long and splendid reign of Amenemhat III leads to a brief time of decay; much as the long reign of Pepy II led to the disorganization of the VIth dynasty. And in each case an age of short reigns, confusion, and weakness succeeds this outburst of ability. is singular how parallel the two cycles of development run, one with another; but such seems to be much the course of government in its growth and fall in all ages; and growth, prosperity, foreign wars, glory, and decay succeed

each other as the seasons of the great year of human

organization.

The work of this dynasty is among the finest. It could never profess the vitality of the early times, yet it showed a technical perfection and care which is perhaps unsurpassed. The sculptures of Amenembat I and Senusert I from Koptos, the sarcophagus of Senusert II, and the tomb chamber of Amenembat III, are as perfect in workmanship as anything wrought by man.

The private works of this time are fine and substantial; though less spontaneous, they are yet superior to the sculptures of any time since the IVth dynasty, and mark the high level of technical and formal skill which was

reached in this age.

#### CHAPTER IX

#### THIRTEENTH AND FOURTEENTH DYNASTIES

TE now reach the second of the two great periods of obscurity in Egyptian history. The dark age of the VIIth-XIth dynastics we have filled up to some extent, thanks to Eratosthenes and the scarabs, besides having the well-known list of a portion of it in the table of Abydos, and the fragmentary but useful statements in the Turin papyrus. For the period from the XIIIth to the XVIIth dynasty the materials are even less satisfactory. There is the Turin papyrus beginning in good condition, but becoming more and more broken, until dozens of names may be placed in almost any position. There is the wildly irregular list of Thothmes III at Karnak. And there are various excerpts and summaries of Manetho by Josephus, Africanus, Eusebius, etc. There have been various proposals to place parts of the Turin papyrus parallel to others in history, and so shorten the period. But the record of the Sothis date in the XIIth dynasty, supported by the limit of quarry dates in Sinai, shows that we must either accept the whole Egyptian record as continuous, or else entirely abandon it in favour of a dating 1,460 years later. As there has been no decisive evidence given against the periods in the Egyptian record, we shall here follow the history of the Egyptians. The method and degree of any shortening of that has not been established, the evidence in favour of it has not been discussed or rebutted; and the personal impressions of very variable kinds do not seem, so far, to be any ground for abandoning a consistent national history. We start then with the Turin papyrus of kings as a means of arranging the isolated materials that have been found.

## 212 THIRTEENTH AND FOURTEENTH DYNASTIES

The first notable matter is that there is a large mass of kings' names that obviously hold together (Dudumes, Sebekemsafs, Mentuemsaf, etc.) which are not in the Turin list, and yet which are certainly linked to the earlier part of that list (W.F.M.E. 344-5). This shows that there was a rival line, and that we must arrange a double list of kings, so that the regions occupied by the kings of the Turin list shall not clash with those occupied by rival kings. It also shows that the Turin list does not include rival lines, but records a continuous succession. See list at end.

Another difficulty of a smaller kind lies in a peculiar writing in the Turin papyrus. The kings Sebekhetep I and II (Sekhem·khu·taui·ra and Sekhem·seuaz-taui-ra) are clearly written with the kherp sceptre, meaning the sekhem power, as head of a clan or people. But in the papyrus this is blundered as seshesh the sistrum; in one case this error is on a monument (N.E. II, XB). This explains how in an earlier case—the second king—all the monuments read sekhem, while the papyrus has seshesh. For the readings adopted here of the Turin papyrus the versions of Wilkinson (W.T.P.), Lepsius (L.K.) and Pieper (B.P.H., have been compared, all differences have been referred to the facsimile, and sometimes fresh readings have been adopted on the basis of Moller's Palacography.

XIII, 1. KHU·TAUI·RA K. about 3366-

UGAF

Karnak, part of stele (A.S. vi, 133). ,, seat of figure (A.S. vi, 130). Elephantine, plaque (A.S. viii, 250-2). Semneh, statue (A.S. x, 106). Kerma, statue (A.E. 1916, 87).

Much confusion has occurred by writers adding to the name in the Turin list to agree with that of the 15th king, and then mixing the monuments of the two kings. They are quite distinct, as shown by the personal names. This king evidently retained all the south land; for his statue at Semneh (now in Khartoum Museum) names Dedun, and was therefore not removed from Egypt to Semneh. K, placed here below the numbers of the kings, refers to their being in the list of Tehutmes III at Karnak.

XIII, 2. SEKHEM·KA·RA

∮□

about 3358-

Benha, stele of Mery ra (B.G.C. xxviii).
Tanis, sockets (M.D. 103-4).
Kahun papyri (G.K. ix, 1).
Shatt er rigal (P.S. 466).
Aswan, vizier Khenems (C.M.I. 26, 186).
Scarab (P.S.C. 13, 2).
Queen.—Neb hetep da.
Socket (M.D. 103, 104).
Son?—Ramery (B.M.; B.G.C. xxviii).
Daughters?—Hesut (M.D. 104).
Usheb
Neb hetep da,,

A stele naming this king was found, probably at Benha (B.M. 1346). It is a tablet of a noble, a king's son, named Mery ra (perhaps the same of whom a scarab remains, P.I. viii, 40). On the upper part a Nile figure kneels, offering vases bearing onkh-zed-uas to the hawk on the ka name, S-onkh-taui: the cartouche of Sekhem-ka-ra comes next to this.

The bronze sockets inlaid with silver that were found at Tanis bear the Horus name Seonkhtavi, and names of a queen and family, which presumably belong to this king. They were probably on some shrine taken there from Upper Egypt; they may perhaps be of later date. An enumeration of a household from Kahun is dated in the third year. Nothing has been found at the great cities, so probably the reign was short, agreeing to the six years stated. At Shatt er rigal there is merely the Horus name. The name of the vizier Khenems at Aswan shows that the south was not neglected. There is a statuette of the vizier (S.B.A. 1901, 222-3). The scarab is much worn, and indistinct in the reading.

### XIII, 4. SEHETEP AB RA AMENEMHAT V

about 3342-3338 B.C.

Sebennytos, altar (A.S. v. 124). Kahun, papyrus (G.K. xvii, 7).

This altar (C. Mus.) gives the full royal titles, for which see the lists at the end here. An account of cattle from

Kahun names those of king Sehetep ab ra deceased, and evidently later than Amenemhat I. It also has a date of a 20th year; this is not likely to refer to Aufni, who seems to have been ephemeral, but rather to Seonkh ab ra, who left such fine altars at Karnak.

XIII, 5. AUFNI

about 3338-3336 B.C.

This name occurs as that of a prince, mentioned on the stele of Khunes his son (S.B.A. 1903, 135).

XIII, 6. SONKH-AB-RA O D about 3336-3314 B.C.

AMENY ANTEF AMEN'EM HAT



Of this king a noble table of offerings was found at Karnak. It consists of two square blocks of quartzite, carved with twenty small cup hollows in rows on the top, and bearing the various titles and names of the king around the sides (G. Mus.; M.K. ix-x).

A cylinder is also known (S.B.A. 1914, 37), and a scarab (P.S.C. 13, 6). For the reign of 20 years sec xiii, 4.

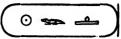
XIII, 8. RA-SEHETEP-AB O S S S S B.C.

Some scarabs bearing this name (P. Mus.; P.S.C. 13, 8) are so rude in workmanship that they cannot be assigned to the reign of Amenemhat I, in which fine work prevailed.



Fig. 120.—Cowroids (F.P. Coll.).

XIII, II. RA·SEBEK·HETEP (I)



about 3286-3278 B.C.

Deir el Bahri, block (N.E. II, x, H).



Fig. 121.—Scarab (U.C.)

Four scarabs of this king are known (F.P., P. Mus., G.Sc).

XIII, 12. NE-MAOT'RA? REN'SENB about 3278-3270 B.C.

Only the second name is in the list; but as in the next reign a seal was used of Ne maot ra it seems likely that such was the name of this king.

XIII, 13. Au·ab·ra Her-uat? about 3270-3262 B.C.

Tomb, Dahshur (M.F.D. I, 103).
Statue in shrine (M.F.D. I, 93, xxxiii-v).
Smaller ka figure (M.F.D. I, 95).
Coffin (M.F.D. I, 101; L.S.A. 28105).
Canopic jars in box (M.F.D. I, 104, xxxvi)
2 of each cartouche.
Steles (M.F.D. I, 94).
Round altar (M.F.D. I, 95).
Vases, sceptres, offerings in wood, pottery.
Mask, ornaments (M.F.D. I, 95-100).
Plaque, Berl. Mus. (A.Z. xxxiii, 142).

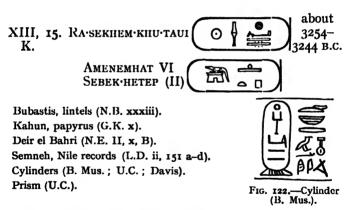
The tomb of this king was in a pit on the south side of the south brick pyramid at Dahshur built by Amenemhat III. The ka statue lay perfect in its wooden shrine; the style of it is not so vigorous as that of the previous dynasty, but more like that of the statues of Sebek hetep III and others of this age. There was also a small ka figure of fine work. The coffin had been broken open, and the inscribed strips of gold foil which surrounded the panels fell away on exposure. The canopic jars have not been published, except vaguely (A.Z. xxxvii, 63). The larger stele of alabaster has a religious text, the smaller one a usual nesut da

hetep formula. The sceptres and sticks are numerous, with the heq, uas, falcon head, etc. The insignia were of wood, gilt; probably all solid gold was taken by plunderers.

On the ground of a scaling with the name Ne-maot-ra being used in this burial, it has been supposed that this king was a predecessor of Amenemhat III; but it is very unlikely that in so well-known a period no trace should have appeared of such a king. As the throne-name of the previous king Ren-senb is unknown, it is far more likely that the seal belonged to him.

Some scarabs may refer to this king, along with Senusert III; but as the name is so likely a wish "may Ra gladden the heart," the king's title would be needed to prove it to

be a name (S.B.A. xxi, 153; G.L.R. I, 318).



The reading of the broken Turin papyrus here is rather unlike *khu*, but the second name is Sebek-hetep. We must apply the far better monumental readings to understanding the papyrus; and as No. I T.P. certainly has no *sekhem* in the name, and is Ugaf and not Sebekhetep, it seems clear that this No. 15 must be as here stated, according to the monuments.

This king appears as a builder at Bubastis, two lintel blocks bearing his name. At Kahun a papyrus was found dated in his third year. The records of the high Nile at Semneh are of each year to the fourth. Some cylinders

bear his throne name; and one (Davis Coll.) gives the full personal name Amenemhat Sebekhetep, which also appears on the block at Deir el Bahri. A loose cartouche, perhaps cut from a tomb, has also the double name (S.B.A. 1903, 135). For cylinders see N.Sc. xliii, 3; P.Sc. 278-9; H.C.S. 2641-3; P.S.C. 13, 15. The peculiar form of sekhem as a sistrum only occurs on the block at Deir el Bahri, and in the hieratic writing of the Turin list.

XIII, 16. USER . . . RA.

It has been suggested that a scarab reading User ra (Grant Coll.) belonged to this king, but other signs are missing from this name in the papyrus.



Two large statues of grey syenite at Tanis (probably brought from Memphis according to the dedication) both

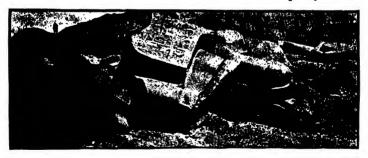


Fig. 123.—Grey syenite statue of Mermeshau, Tanis.

bear these names (P.T. I, iii, 16). They are finely and massively executed, and differ much in style from the slender and shallow work in red granite of Sebekhetep III; but this difference of style is easily due to the different local schools of art at different quarries. The statues were afterwards appropriated by Apepa, who carved his name

on the arm (P.T. I, xiii, 6). There is some doubt as to the position of the king represented by these statues. In the Turin papyrus this No. 17 has only ka left at the end of the cartouche, and following it mer-mesha, as the personal name or title. As that, however, was a common military title, and also the title of the high prest of Mendes, there might be more than one king so called. On the other hand, a later king, No. 79, is named Ra-smen . . .; but he is not so likely to have erected statues, as by that time troubles were in the land, and it is rather in the first fifty-five names that this must be sought, though it might be any one of ten missing names in this period. On the whole, it is probable that the seventeenth king is the one represented. Whether he were a general or the high priest has been debated; but as on the statues he is said to be loved of Ptah, and not of the Mendesian Ba-neb-dad, he is more likely to have been a general.

## XIII, 18. RA(HETEP)KA.

This name is on a cylinder of fairly good work (P.S.C. xviii), and possibly a scarab, if the uzat eyes may be read as Ra (G.J.L. Fig. 136). The name Ra . . . ka in T.P. may give the position of this king.

## XIII, 19. RA-KA-SET.

The name is uncertain in T.P., and it occurs on a bead from Thebes, of strange work and dubious character (A.S. vi, 134).

XIII, 20.
RA·SEKHEM·SUAZ·TAUI

SEBEK·HETEP (III)

About 32123209 B.C.

Fig. 124.— Scarab

Bubastis, statue, B.M. (E.S.B. xvi; B.G.C. xxvii), Koptos, scarab (P.S.C. 13, 20, 2).

Lugsor, columns (A.Z. xxxiv, 122). architrave (W.F.M.E. 418). block (W.G.A. 70). Karnak granite block (M.K. 8 m). Gebeleyn, lintel (Rec. xx. 72). El Kab, tomb of Sebeknekht (L.D. iii, 13; T.T.S. vii). Stele with daughters (P. Mus., Pr.M. viii). Stele of Iuf-senb (Rec. xx, 72). Axe handle, B.M. (B.G.C. 223). Amethyst bead, Mac, Coll. (S.B.A. 1905, 104, Cat. xxxviii, 1428). Gold ball (P.S.C. 13, 20, 1). Scarabs (P.S.C. 13, 20; H.C.S. 157; P.Sc. 291; N.S.C. 36011-2). Father. - Mentuhetep (P.Sc. 291). Mother. -Auhetabu (P.Sc. 290, 292); genealogy (A.C.W. 48). Queen. - NENNA (Pr.M. viii). Brother. - Senb (Rec. vii, 188). Daughters. - Au het abu zedt fenz (Pr.M. viii). Anget dadat (Pr. M. viii).

The red-granite seated figure in the British Museum is probably of this king. but the name is rather different, omitting s before *uaz*. It has the failings of this age, in a pinched style with too small a head and waist. Other monuments extend up to Gebelevn. and the king is stated to have made a grant of land at El Kab. A family monument is a stele bearing his names in the Louvre (Pr.M. viii) (Fig. 125); the scene represents two deceased daughters of a king adoring Min. They are Auhet abu and Anget dadat, born of the queen Nen na.



Fig. 125.—Stele of Sebekhetep III. Royal daughters adoring Min.

The probable connexion of this is that Nenna was the queen, and these were two daughters who died before their father: the eldest was the heiress of the kingdom, as she had a cartouche; her full name was Au·het·abu·zedt·fenz.

More is recorded of the family on scarabs, and on a tablet at Vienna (Rec. vii. 188). From these we learn that the parents of Sebekhetep III were the divine father Mentuhetep and the royal mother Auhet abu. The tablet is of a prince Senb, whose parents were likewise Mentuhetep and the king's mother Auhet abu, pretty certainly the same persons. Further, the children of Senb are stated as Sebekhetep, Auhet abu, Hent, and M ntuhetep. There are blocks with the name upon a deep erasure (C. Mus. 44946).

Of small objects there is a royal axe handle, and a gold ball made by impressing two halves in a mould and soldering them together. These and the amethyst bead seem to show that the tomb has been entered in recent times.

The Turin papyrus states a reign of three years.





about 3209-3194 B.C.

Fig. 126.—Scarab

(F.P. Coll.).

Fayum, statuette, Bologna Mus. Abydos, stele (M.A. 11, 28-30).

(L.M.R. 20601). ,, (M.A.A. xxix).

cartouche? (P.A.G. I, lix). Karnak naos (B.S.C. 42022).

Block with Sebekhetep III (M.K. 8, 0). Shatt er rigal, with Kema (P.S. 479).

Nefer-hetep

Aswan, family tablet (P.S. 337).

Seheyl steles (L.D. ii, 151 g; M.D. lxx, 3; C.M.I. p. 85, 15, 16, 22; p. 84, 11; p. 87,

Konoso (L.D. ii, 151 f, h; C.M.I. 71, 30; 73, 45). Buhen, glazed plate (M.W.B., pl. 74, p. 201).

Capital, Berl. M. (S.I.B. III, 140). Sceptre model, Stroganoff (G.L.R. II, 27).

Vase, Abbott Coll. B.M. (Rev. A. 1845, 15).

Cylinder, born of Kema (U.C. Coll.). Bead (U.C. Coll.).

Scarabs; both names, J.G. (S.B.A. 1914, 37); F.S. 47-8; 3 with Kema, I Haonkhef (P.S.C. 13, 20); P. Mus. (P.Sc. 296).

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Queen.—SENBSEN (Seheyl M.D. lxx, 3).
Father.—Haonkhef
Mother.—Kema
Sons.—Sä-Hathor
Sä-Sebek-hetep
Haonkhef
Herhetep, C. Mus. (L.M.R. 20058)
Daughters.—Kema.
Nefer-hetep.
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An excellent work of this reign is the seated statuette of black basalt in the Bologna Museum (Figs. 127, 128). It has the old traditions of Egyptian statuary, but with a



Fig. 127.—Black basalt statuette of Neferhetep (Bologna Mus.)

weakness and youthfulness of expression which is different from any earlier works. In this it shows kinship to the large statues of the grandson, Sebekhetep IV. The adoration of Sebek of the Fayum upon it shows that it came from there. An indication that the court was living toward the north is a passage in the great stele of Abydos, where a messenger is sent southward to that city from Heliopolis, instead of the king passing it on his return home.

The large stele of this king found at Abydos records his sending to repair the temple there according to the directions of the sacred books, and to lea n the will of the god; for when he had unrolled and read the writings, he desired

Fig. 128.—Statuette of Neferhetep.

to honour the god according to all that he had seen in the books.

A small stele (L.M.R. 20601), with the king adoring Min. was found on the west of the temple enclosure at Abydos. Another stele found on the boundary of the cemetery Abydos was to prohibit anyone entering the cemetery under pain of branding: and stating that any fresh tombs must be placed elsewhere (M.A.A. xxix). The line of bank limiting a cemetery is still visible in one case,

at Dendereh. The naos from Karnak contains a remarkable pair of figures of the king standing in a shrine, like the two granite shrines at Hawara (P.Lab. xxiii). Such pairs of figures seem to show the king in two aspects, by the difference in dress.

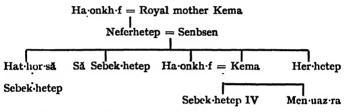
The inscription at Shatt has the queen-mother Kema associated with the king, and from his statuette it appears that he was a youth at his accession. This queen Kema appears named as the heiress and royal daughter on her scarab (P.S.C. xviii) before she was queen-mother, but she is not named among the children of Sebek hetep III;

possibly she was his sister. She is also named on some of the cataract inscriptions.

A block at Karnak, which bears the cartouches of both Neferhetep and Sebekhetep IV (M.K. viii, n, o) shows that

very probably they were coregents.

Two rock inscriptic at Aswan (P.S. 337) and Seheyl (M.D. lxx, 3) record more of the family. From these we gather that Ha-onkh-f and Kema were the parents of Neferhetep; that Senbsen was his wife, and that there were four royal children, Hat-hor-sa, Sebekhetep, Ha-onkh-f, and Kema. We state them thus—



At Shat er Rigal, near Silsileh, is a cartouche of Neferhetep; and at Scheyl and Konosso, at the First Cataract, are other steles which only show Neferhetep with Anget, Min, and Sati.

The authority of this reign certainly extended up to Wady Halfa, as the glazed plaque worn by a noble there

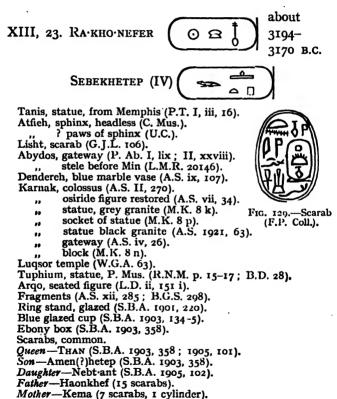
has the king's Hor-nub name, thrice repeated.

The scarabs of Neferhetep confirm the parentage reported by the tablet at Aswan, but are not of further interest. The reign is of eleven years in the Turin list.

## XIII, 22. RA·SĂ·HATHER.

Two scarabs are known of this king, who seems to have only been coregent with his father (P.Sc. 299; N.Sc. xii, 3; S.B.A. 1914, 37). He was the eldest son of Neferhetep according to the list at Seheyl (M.D. lxx, 3). A scarab (G.Sc.) records "the king's son Sebekhetep born of the king's son Să-hather." This gives an indication of the family history. Neferhetep was old enough to have a grandson before his eleven years' reign was over. Yet Kema was very prominent early in his reign. If Neferhetep at about 18 had Să-hather, if at 29 he reigned, and at 40

he died, Să-hather must have had Sebekhetep at about 18 or 19 and have died just before Neferhetep. The grandson was then set aside in favour of Sebekhetep IV, son of Haonkhef II and Kema II; really the power was seized by them in the name of their infant son. The other king, "Men-uaz-ra, son of the divine father Haonkhef" (see below), must have been a younger brother of Sebekhetep IV, unless the name Haonkhef was repeated a third time later on.



The remains of this king are more widespread than those of others in this dynasty. The statue at Tanis was originally dedicated to Ptah of Memphis (Fig. 130), and removed by

Ramessu II. The small sphinx of black granite and a paw of grey granite came from Atfieh. At Abydos was a great gateway to the temple, of black syenite. Karnak is the principal site of work, having a gateway and three statues, with the restoration of an Osiride figure of Mentuhetep II.

The statue in Paris has a dedication to the goddess of Tuphium, so it probably came thence originally, but may



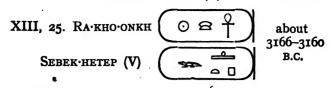
Fig. 130.—Red-granite statue of Schekhetep IV, Tanis.

have been at Tanis on the way. At Arqo is a seated figure (L.D. II, 151 i), which is stated to have been brought from Semneh (W.G.A. 449). The family relationships are shown by various small objects.

This reign comes to the bottom of col. vii of the Turin papyrus; and as that column is already longer than any other it would be unlikely that there were more kings below, now lost. Yet we are compelled to accept two names here before Ra·kho·hetep, namely, Ra·men·uaz and Ra·kho·onkh.

XIII, 24. RA·MEN·UAZ about 3170-3166 B.C.

A small black steatite cylinder, with raised bands at the ends, fluted diagonally, has the inscription "Ramen uaz (in a cartouche) born of the divine father Haonkhef." This seems to fix this king as a brother of Sebek hetep IV (U.C. Coll.).



Abydos, temple (R.M.S. text III, i, 14; I, p. 111 at end, 72 a, b, c).

"(2) P. Mus. (G.L.R. II, 40, 41).
"(3) stele? Hornekht (L.M.R. 20146).

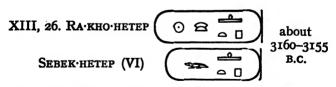
Ped graphic fewer P. Mus. (Ms. D. p. 202).

Red-granite figure, P. Mus. (Ms. D. p. 529). Altar, Leyden (B.S.L. III, 7). Pedestal of figure, granite (S.B.A. 1903, 136). Scarab with Sebekhetep IV (Ash. Mus.). Queen—(?) NUB-EM-HAT (P. Kop. 12, xii).

Daughter—(?) Sebek em heb

The position of this king seems fixed by the scarab with his name, together with that of Sebekhetep IV (reading Ra·kho·nefer·onkh), apparently as coregent. That he had a separate rule later is seen from the Leyden altar with full royal names. The part of a stele found at Koptos refers to the queen beholding the beauties of Her·sma·taui; this might be only a religious allusion, but even so it is more likely to belong to a reign which copied the name of that god in the Horus name of the king. A queen Nubu-kho... and daughter Khensu are in L.K. 213-4, source unknown.

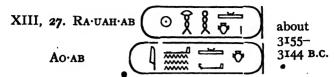
We now continue the list of the Turin papyrus at col. viii.



Five scarabs of this king are known; two have both cartouches (P. Mus.; C. Mus.); one has a figure of a lion walking with the name in separate signs over it; and two have the throne name (P.S.C. 13, 24). The name was found at Abydos (R.M.S. III, 14; I, pt. III at end, 72 a, b, c). He reigned 4 yrs. 8 m. 29 d.



Fig. 131.—Scarab (C. Mus.).



A stele of an official, Să-hather, names this king (B.G.S. 279). On a cylinder he is named as "beloved of Sebek, lord of Su uaz" (P.Sc. 323). A scarab is known (P.S.C. 13, 25), and a sealing (G.J.L., Fig. 133). A piece of a blue glazed cup from Kahun has the beginning of a roya! name, Ra·uah . . . and is probably of this king (U.C. Coll.; P.K. x, 72). The reign is recorded as 10 years, 8 months, 28 days, one of few data that are not lost from the Turin papyrus.

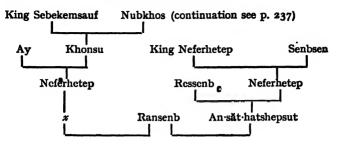


Fig. 132.—Scarab (F.P. Coll.).

At this point it may be best to turn to the parallel line of the southern kings, which was eclipsed by the power of the Sebekheteps III and IV.

There are many difficult questions about the positions of the kings who are not recognized in the legitimate line of the Turin papyrus (here called T.P.). They have been dealt with hitherto by various schemes of guesswork, sometimes in arbitrary groups inserted as a block in the Turin list, sometimes left as a mere limbo of the dispossessed, sometimes placed in a vast XVIIth dynasty. What we propose here is to use all indications that are possible for connecting them to the continuous Turin list. For the sake of showing clearly what has to be taken into account, we will here notice together all the historical indications of order, and then take the results as the ground for stating the monuments and positions of the kings.

The main point is the evidence of the genealogies (W.F.M.E. 345).



From these connexions, therefore, we must place Sekhem-seshedti-taui-ra Sebek-em-sauf as a generation before Neferhetep, or parallel to Sebek-hetep III, by whom he was superseded. For the parallels of the two lines, see the tables at the end, as also in reading the following details.

In the rock inscription in L.D. II, 151 k, if we can trust the arrangement of the copy, and if the headline is of a different Sebekemsaf to that on the right, then the User . . . ra Sebekemsaf is the earlier, and Sekhemuaz kau has added his name to join in the adoration of the earlier king. Most unfortunately this inscription could not be found by MM. Couyat and Montet (pp. 78-9), nor was it found by M. Golenischeff. By the connexions with queen Nubkhos certainly Sebekemsauf must have been of the same general period as Sebekemsaf. The firm hold on the South by the powerful kings Sebekhetep III, Neferhetep, and Sebekhetep IV would leave no scope for a southern dynasty during T.P. 20-23. The three Sebekemsaf kings are therefore probably all before T.P. 20.

The Rassekhem names occur in T.P. 2, 15, 20, and then not till an example in the distant obscurity of 73. It then seems probable that the southern Rassekhem names come in the Sebek-em-saf group before T.P. 20. There is, however, a question still open as to the source of these kings. On looking at the list of places, p. 229, it is seen that the three Rassekhem kings of the North all held the South, No. 2 at Aswan, No. 15 at Semneh, No. 20 at El Kab. All the other Rassekhem kings were of the southern line. In short there never was a Rassekhem king who did not rule the South. This raises the question whether the kings 2, 15, and 20 were not southern kings

who occupied the North, by conquest or by marriage, and so entered the northern register.

Rahetep's nebti name, with renput, is similar to that of T.P. 15; following him comes Men-hetep-ra, according to a late tale.

The complex name of Sebekemsaf Ra·user . . . , if read rightly in L.D. II, 151 k, is of the fashion of the long name of Hetep·ab·ra, here placed next after it. The occurrence of this last at opposite Siut, links it with the name Upuat·em·saf, which implies a worship at Siut. These kings must have held the valley so far north at a time when the legitimate line is unknown in the Thebaid.

The Penthen . . . -Tahuti pair having sekhem names are probably before T.P. 20, and are pushed back earlier by the Sebekemsaf group: so they may well be about T.P. 9-10, when there is nothing legitimate known south of Dahshur.

The Dudumes group seem to be early, by the fine work of the scarabs; the round spiral (P.S.C. 11, E) not being dated after Senusert I. There is, however, no room for a southern line in the XIth and XIIth dynastics, and presumably this group comes early in the XIIIth. The source of it is clearly southern; Dudu was a local god of Esneh, the monuments are found at Edfu, El Kab, Gebeleyn, and once at Deir el Bahri. As the group is southern it is more likely that the southern monuments preceded those farther to the north. Also from the indication of the scarabs those with zedui are finer and earlier than that with zed alone (see N.Sc. x, 29, and 25, 26).

The relation of the two lines, the legitimate in T.P., and the southern line, then works out thus, naming the nearest approach of each to the other:—

| TURIN PAPYRUS LEGITIMATE. |              |        | Southern Line. |                  |
|---------------------------|--------------|--------|----------------|------------------|
| I                         | Ugaf         | Semneh |                | О                |
| 2                         | Ra-sekhem-ka | Aswan  | 1              | Ο                |
| 3                         | Raem·hat     |        | Edfu           | Dudumesu         |
| 4                         | Amenemhat V  | Kahun  |                | Ra·zedui·onkh    |
| 5                         | Aufni        |        | 1              | Ra-nefer-onkh    |
| 6                         | Ameny Antef  | Karnak | Gebeleyn       | Mentu·em·saf     |
| 7                         | Ra-smen-ka   |        | Gebeleyn       | Dudumes          |
| 8                         | Ra-shetp-ab  | Kahun  | Gebeleyn       | Sekhm-sonkh-taui |
| 9                         | Ra·nezem·ka  |        | Abydos         | Pen·neb·theni    |
| 10                        | Ra nezem ab  |        | Ballas         | Tehuti           |

| Tur | IN PAPYRUS LEG | ITIMATE. | Southern Line. |                       |  |  |  |
|-----|----------------|----------|----------------|-----------------------|--|--|--|
| II  | Sebekhetp I    | Thebes   |                | Sekhm·ab·taui         |  |  |  |
| 12  | Ransenb        |          | Koptos         | Ra·hetep              |  |  |  |
| 13  | Ra·fu·ab       | Dahshur  | _              | Ra·men·hetep          |  |  |  |
| 14  | Ra·sezef       |          | Hammamat       | Sebek·em·saf          |  |  |  |
| 15  | Sebek-hetp II  | Semneh   |                | О                     |  |  |  |
| 16  | Ra user        |          | Siut ¢         | Ra·hetep·ab           |  |  |  |
| 17  | Mermashau      | Memphis  | Siut           | Upuat·em·saf          |  |  |  |
| 18  | Ra·hetep·ka    | -        | Abydos         | Seb <b>ek·em·s</b> af |  |  |  |
| 19  | Ra·ka·set      |          | Abydos         | Sebkemsauf            |  |  |  |
| 20  | Sebk·hetp III  | El Kab   |                | O                     |  |  |  |
| 21  | Neferhetp      | Buhen    |                | Ο                     |  |  |  |
| 22  | Hathorsă       |          |                | 0                     |  |  |  |
| 23  | Sebk·hetp IV   | Tuphium  |                | 0                     |  |  |  |
| 24  | Ra·men·uaz     | _        | Tomas          | Ra·ab·khent           |  |  |  |
| 25  | Sebk·hetp V    | Abydos   |                |                       |  |  |  |
| 26  | Sebk hetp VI   | Abydos   |                |                       |  |  |  |
| 27  | Ao-ab          | Kahun    |                |                       |  |  |  |
| 28. | Ay             | Karnak   |                |                       |  |  |  |
| 29  | Ana            | Abydos   |                |                       |  |  |  |
| 30  | Seuortu        |          | Karnak         | Nefrhetp III          |  |  |  |
| 31  | Ant            |          | Gebeleyn       | Amenemhat senbef      |  |  |  |

The later reigns here of the southern line must fall into a stage of weakness in the legitimate line. There are suggestions of date by the Horus name at Tomas being the same as for T.P. 21: by Mer·sekhem·ra Neferhetep being close to Mer·sekhem·ra Ant . . . , T.P. 31; by Se·seshesh·ka·ra of the Mohalla cylinder being on the type of Se·uaz·ka·ra, T.P. 32; by this type resembling Se·bek·ka·ra; by Mer·onkh·ra, Mer·hetep·ra coming in the gap before Mer·kheper·ra, T.P. 40.

Though the types of names are of no value for exact position, yet as showing a fashion extending over two or three generations they may be of considerable value. On looking at well-known periods there are usually three or four types mixed together, as Ra . . . ka, Ra men . . . , Ra oa kheper . . . , Ra . . . . kheperu in the XVIIIth dynasty. All that can be done is to group those of the same type, as being probably nearly of the same period. The following arrangement is, therefore, only provisional, but it incorporates all the clues that can be obtained from the localities, types of names and relationships. The kings of the southern line are lettered to show their probable order, and for reference; their position opposite to the legitimate line can be seen in the table

of this dynasty at the end, and the above list. The kings are numbered where the order is certain; but lettered where they can only be grouped. The frequency of Gebeleyn as a source for these remains, is due to its being strongly held as a frontier fortress of the southern line, to control movement from Thebes.

#### XIII A. RA-ZEDUI-HETEP DUDUMESU

about

A stele found at Edfu gives the names of Horus *Uaz·kho*, nebti shed taui, Hernub An·hetep . . . RA·ZEDUI·HETEP, son of RA·DUDUMESU. Adoration to his majesty is made by the chief of the garrison named Khensu·em·uast (A.S. ix, I, pl. I). A similar stele at Edfu was of Herseker, an honorary "king's son" of Dudumesu, actually a son of a royal son Sebekhetep (A.S., 1921, pl. 5).

XIII B. RA-ZEDUI-ONKII

about 3340 B.C.

This name is of the above type, and is known by two scarabs (P.S.C. II E; H.C.S. 230 = N.Sc. x, 25, 26).

XIII C. RA·NEFER·ONKH

about 3330 B.C.

Some fine obsidian scarabs of this king are known, with scroll borders; the work is too good for a later time, and the name is of the above type. (P.S.C. xviii; F.S. 57-8; S.B.A. 1905, 104; P.Sc. 506-8).

XIII D. Ra·zed·onkh Mentu·em·saf about 3320 B.C.

This name is on a slab from Gebelyn (Rec. xx, 72).

XIII E. RA-ZED-NEFER



about 3315

Dudu-mes



ST.

Fig. 133.—Scarab (F.P. Coll.).

This seems to have been the principal king of the group,

best known by the stele representing him with Khensu and with Anpu; it is from Gebeleyn and of poor, coarse work (L.M.R. 20533). A fallen block, at El Kab, has the second name in relief; from being surrounded by names of the VIth dynasty (S.B.A. 1893, 494; 1999, 114 pl.), it has been supposed to be as early as that, but there would be difficulties as to style if this Dudumes group were placed as contemporary with the VIIth and VIIIth dynasties. Moreover, the name occurs in the XIth dynasty temple of Deir el Bahri (N.E. II, x, D); and, if an earlier king, the block must have been brought from elsewhere. Two scarabs are known, that above (P.S.C. II D), and another (F.S. 62).

#### XIII F. RA·SEKHEM·SONKH·TAUI

about 3310 B.C.

This king appears on a fragment of a stele from Gebeleyn (A.S. ix, 70; corrected in Sph. xvii, 103). From the locality and the type of name this belongs to the following group.

#### XIII G. Ra·sekhem·khu·taui Pen·neb? then

about 3300 B.C.

This king is named on the top of a stele from Abydos dedicated by his son Tehuti·oă, for his deceased mother (?) Neferu. (P. Ab. II, xxxi; B.G.S. 282.) The name is identical with that of T.P. 15.

#### XIII H. Ra·sekhem·smen·taui Tehuti

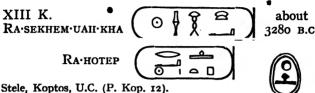
about 3290 B.C.

By the personal name this may well be the son of the previous king. The two names occur together on a door jamb from Deir Ballas (P.N.B. xliii, 4). The personal name is in the formula of a canopic box (Berl. M.: A.Z. xxx, 45), which appears to have been given up by the king for the burial of the great royal wife Mentuhetep. Presumably she was the mother or wife of Tehuti. The coffin of this queen is now destroyed; but a copy of its inscriptions shows that it was for the "great royal wife Mentuhotep, begotten of the vizier, the keeper of the palace, Senb-hena-f, and born of the heiress Sebekhotep" (S.B.A. xiv, 41).

XIII I. RA-SEKHEM-AB-TAUI

about 3285 B.C.

This name was read by Brugsch in a papyrus concerning the tomb robberies of the XXth dynasty, which refers to the tomb stele of this king (A.Z. XIV, 3).



Stele, Koptos, U.C. (P. Kop. 12). Stele of Besa (B.G.S. 283).

Ostraka, subsequent tale (P. Mus.; F. Mus.) Scarabs.

Fig. 134.—Scarab (F.P. Coll.).

The only contemporary monument of this king is a much broken stele found at Koptos. From that it appears that he had rearranged and endowed the temple there after a period of decay. The stele is of rather rough work, and unhappily the top scene has nearly all been lost.

The stele of a private man named Besa (B.M.) gives the

two names of the king (B.G.S. 283).

The portions of a tale concerning Rahoteb are on ostraka of a later age, about the XXth dynasty (P. Mus.; F. Mus.), in which mention is made of going to the tomb of king Rahotep, and at that place a mummy speaks, and states that "When I lived on earth I was treasurer of king Rahotep, and I died in the 14th year of king Ramenhotep" (Rec. iii, 3; xvi, 31; Contes Populaires, 291). Some few scarabs are known, all of small size, and not distinctive.

#### XIII L. RA·MEN·HETEP

about 3275 B.C.

This king, just mentioned above, has the 14th year of his reign mentioned. Though the historic value of so late a tale is but slight, yet it may give a true reference to history which was then well known.

#### XIII M. RA·USER·KHA . . . KHOU ·SEBEK·EM·SAF (I)

about 3260 B.C.

This king is only known by roughly cut cartouches at Hammamat (L.D. II, 151 k). It seems possible that

these are only the rough writing of a joint cartouche, Ra-sekhem-uaz-khau Sebek-em-saf; but, against this, joint names in one cartouche are not found after the middle of the XIIth dynasty. The 9th year is named here.

# XIII N. RA·HETEP·AB AMII·SÄ·HER·NEZ·HERTEF

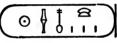
about

This name is on a slab found at El Ataula opposite Siut (A.S. iii, 80). The name "son of the Amu" suggests that he was a chief of the eastern desert who seized power during the weakness of the legitimate line. He may then be parallel to a southern king.

#### XIII O. RA·SEKHEM·NEFER·HETEP.

This may be the rightful southern king, found at Abydos (P. Ab. i, lix).

XIII P. Ra·sekhem·nefer·khou



about 3230 B.C.

Up·uatu·em·saf

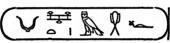




Fig. 135.—Scarab (H. Coll.),

This king is found on a stele formerly belonging to Harris (B.M.: B.G.S. 281). A scarab (H. Coll.) seems to bear the same name, with the addition of *Khe·ha*, which may be part of a *ka* name combined with it. The devotion to Upuat of Siut points to this king having ruled so far north; and if the above king, *amu sa*, was his father that would account for the name.

XIII, Q.
RA·SEKHEM·UAZ·KHAU

O

I

I

3225 B.C.

Coffin, Leyden (L.M.L.). Canopic chest, Leyden (B.S.L. III, viii; A.Z. xxxii, 23), Heart scarab, B.M. (H.C.S. 211). Abydos, red-granite statue (M.A. ii, 26). Hammamat inscriptions (C.M.I. 111; L.D. II, 151 k, l). Karnak, statuette (L.S.K. 42029). obelisk, schist (A.S. vi. 284). Silsilch, name (P.S. 385). Seated figure, U.C. (C.R. lxi). Block (C. Mus. 44949). Scarab. H. Coll.

A standing statue of red granite three-quarters life-size was found at Abydos (C. Mus.), with the names of this

king (M.A. ii, 26); and a relief sculptured on the block by the legs shows his son Sebekemsaf as deceased. Another and smaller seated figure of the king, in black basalt, was probably found at Thebes (Fig. 136); it is headless, but bears the king's names down the front of the The work is cold and throne. formal, and the signs rudely marked

(F.P. Coll.; P.S. xxi, 2).

Two steles in the Wady Hammamat show the king adoring Min. and bear both of his cartouches (L.D. ii, 151, k, l). And at Shat er Rigal the cartouche also occurs (P.S. 385). Some objects from the roval tomb have come to light. through Arab hands. A coffin and canopic chest with the name Sebekemsaf, in Leyden, probably belonged to this king; as do the heart scarab (H.C.S. 211) and the goldplated scarab (Price sale cat. 960, photograph). Evidently this king ruled far over Egypt, as he took for his Hor-nub name "Em- Fig. 136.—Basalt statuette bracing both lands."



of Sebekemsaf. Thebes. (F.P. Coll.)

XIII R. RA·SEKHEM·S·SHEDI·TAUI



about 3220 B.C.

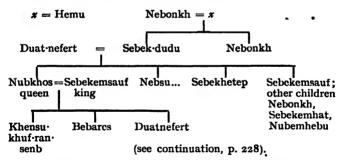
SEBEK EM SAUF (III)



Abydos, cartouches (P. Ab. II, xxxii).
Stele (B.G.S. 280).
Abbott papyrus, III, 1; VI, 3.
Amherst papyrus (N.A.P. 25).
Queen—Nub-khos (Abbott pap.), stele (P. Mus., P.R. ii. 5).

The name of this king, shedi taui, suggests that he had pushed north from Siut as far as the Fayum. The word to save" might be used anywhere; but the choice of the phrase would be most likely at the city of Shedti. The stele of the official Sebekhetep is of a pointed form with curved sides; his wife was named Au het abu, like the mother of Sebekhetep II, which shows the period of this fashion of name. The Abbott and Amherst papyri record the official inquiry concerning the royal tombs in the XXth dynasty. In the Abbott papyrus we read: "It was found that the thieves had violated the tomb by undermining the chamber of the ground level of the pyramid, from the great exterior chamber of the sepulchre of the overseer of the granaries, Neb-Amen, of the king Men-kheper-ra. The place of sepulture of the king was found to be void of its occupant; so was the place of sepulture of the principal royal spouse, Nub-kho-s, his royal wife; the thieves had laid hands on them" (R.P. xii, 106). The Amherst papyrus gives the confession which was afterwards extracted from one of the thieves. He states that they broke into the passage, and found the tomb "protected and surrounded by masonry and covered with roofing; we destroyed it completely, and found them (the king and queen) reposing. We opened their sarcophagi and their coffins in which they were. We found the august mummy of the king with his divine axe beside him, and many amulets and ornaments of gold about his neck. His head was overlaid above with gold, and the august body of the king was wholly covered with gold; his coffins were burnished with gold and silver, within and

without, and inlaid with all kinds of stones. We took the gold which we found on the august mummy of the god. and the amulets and ornaments that were about his neck and the coffins in which he lay. Having also found the royal wife, we likewise took all that which we found with her: and we set fire to their coffins, and stole their furniture which we found with them, vases of gold, of silver, and of bronze, and divided them. We parted the gold which we found with the god, in their august mummies, the amulets, the ornaments, and the coffins, into eight lots" (C.E. ii. 0-12). We have here the example of what has gone on in all ages in the tombs of the kings and great men of Egypt. From the Abbott papyrus we learn that Nub-kho-s was the queen of Sebek-em-sauf, and can date a stele in the Louvre which is dedicated in the name of the " great heiress, the greatly favoured, the ruler of all women, the great royal wife, united to the crown, Nub-kho-s" (P.R. ii, 5). This stele gives an interesting family genealogy of the queen. She was daughter of the chief of the judges, Sebekdudu; and he appears to have had four wives. The more important part of the family stands thus:-



By a wife, Hemtnesut, Sebekdudu had Theti-antef. By a wife, Dudut, Sebekdudu had Mentunesu and Hapiu.

By a wife, Schonkh, Sebekdudu had Sebekhetep, who appears to have married his half-sister Hapiu, and had two children, Ada and Schonkh, the latter of whom had a daughter Hapiu.

After this reign the southern line suffered a long cclipse, while the great kings Sebekhetep III and IV, and Nefer-

hetep, ruled over Egypt and Nubia, and left monuments from Bubastis to Wady Halfa. On their relaxing, there seems to have been a southern king in Nubia, as his Horus name copies that of Neferhetep.

#### XIII S. RA·AB·KHENT Horus GERG·TAUI·F

about 3170 B.C.

Abu Hor rock inscription (W.L.N. xxxii, 1).
Tomas road (W.L.N. l. 1).
Toshkeh (W.L.N. lxv, 1).

How the Egyptian viewed this southern line of kings is seen from the lists. To the historian—as shown by Manetho—they were mere rivals, and the legitimate line was the northern or Memphite rule, whatever might be its fortunes in the south. To the Theban the rulers of Thebes were the main consideration, and in the Karnak list of Tehutmes III there are the southern kings who held Thebes contemporary with the xiii, 8, 10, 12, 18, and 19 of the north; one duplicated name might be the legitimate 15, or the southern parallel to xiii, 9.

We now resume the line of the Turin papyrus.

| XIII, 28.<br>Ra·mer·nefer | (0 <u>C</u> ) | about<br>3144<br>-3120 |
|---------------------------|---------------|------------------------|
| Ay                        | (1811)        | B.C.                   |

The part of a gateway at Karnak (A.S. ix, 273) shows that this king held the Thebaid; and the distribution of his scarabs at Koptos (P. Kop. xxiv, 3), Abydos (M.D. 480 q), Lisht (G.J.L. Fig. 135), Yehudiyeh (P.H.I. ix, 116), and Bubastis (N.S.C. 36022), indicate that he held the North also. The reign was 23 years, 8 months, 18 days, the longest known in this dynasty.



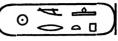
Fig. 137.—Scarab (G. Mus.).

B.C. 3120-3096.]

#### RA-MER-HETEP

239





about 3120-3118 B.C.

Ana

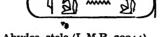


Fig. 138.—Scarab (P. Mus.).

Abydos, stele (L.M.R. 20044). Scarab, P. Mus., figure above.

The limestone stele bears the king before Anubis; the signs are finely cut, but the figure is rather clumsy. Reigned 2 years, 2 months, 9 days.

XIII, 30. Ra·seonkh·n Se·uortu about 3118-3115 B.C.

This king only appears in the Turin papyrus. The personal name has been variously read with h or uaz or b. It is perhaps uor. Reigned 3 years, 2 months.

Queen. KHENSUONKH TA. One scarab is known (P. Mus., N.Sc. xiv, 19), and some other object connected

with the king (B.L.R. 206).

XIII, 31. RA-MER-SEKHEM about 3115-3112 B.C. ANT (arm and stick, in place of knife).

In the list of Karnak, as well as the papyrus, with a reign of 3 years, I month.

XIII, 32. RA·SUAZ·KA . . . HERA

3112-3104 B.C.

Reigned more than I year.

XIII. 33. RA·MER·NEZEM

3104-3096 в.с.

Of this king the name is only in the papyrus, with a

reign of over 2 years.

There comes now a disastrous break in the papyrus list, which might contain anything from I to 7 names; fourteen entries follow, but these might have six blanks below to the foot of the column.

Turning now to some names which are not in the papyrus list, but which seem to be contemporary with those just noted, judging by the type of name, we find the following.

# XIII T. RA·MER·SEKHEM NEFER·HETEP (III?)

This duplicates the name of no. 31. Two black-granite seated figures were found at Karnak (L.S.K. 42023-4). They are of fairly good work: see the head in C.A.E. 131.

#### XIII U. Ra·seseshesh·ka, Amenemhat·senbef

This king is known by a very fine cylinder said to come from Mohalla opposite Gebeleyn (S.B.A. xxi, 282; N.Sc. vii, 3). The name is parallel to no. 32. There is also a scarab in the Percy collection (G.L.R. II, II).

# XIII V. RA·SE·BEQĂ·KA



This name occurs on a cylinder (Fig. 139), from Kahun (P.I. viii, 36) as the name of a king, "nefer neter . . . beloved of Sebe, lord of Sunu." There is also



Sunu." There is also Fig. 139.—Cylinders (F.P. Coll.). a cylinder (P.S.C. pl. xviii) and a larger one (N.Sc. vii, 6), beside a scarab (C. Mus., N.C.S.). The wand of ebony for a king Sebkay, spelled differently, can hardly refer to this king (M.A.A. xliii).

### XIII W. RA·MER·ONKH MENTU·HETEP VI

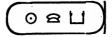
A headless seated figure of schist was found at Karnak (L.S.K. 42021).

Queen—Shert Săt B.M. papyrus. Son—Heru nefer (S.B.A., xiv, 41).

#### XIII X. Horus Her-ab-shedet Amenemhat VII

This king was in the Fayum where his column was found (Rec. xi, 97). His place is probably not very long after the XIIth dynasty, and may well be in the gap of the papyrus.

XIII Y. Ra·kho·ka



Of Ra·kho·ka there are five scarabs which can hardly be attributed to the other king of that name in the preceding dynasty, from the coarse or late types. (P.S.C. xix, line 2; Fig. 140; P.Sc. 248, 250; H. Coll.

cat. 182.)

That a king of this name came after the XIIth dynasty is shown by the table of (F.P. Coll.). Karnak, where it occurs on the side which is entirely occupied with names after the XIIth. From the type of name it would rather be about nos. 21–26; but it does not seem possible to place another king there, unless contemporary with nos. 24–26.

## XIII Z. RA·MER·HETEP SEBEK·HETEP (VII)

A granite statue found at Karnak (L.S.K. 42027) bears the two cartouches, and so cannot be of no. 29. It is a sed heb Osiris figure seated, and is of fairly good work. The stele entered to no. 29 only has the throne name, and so may be of this king.

We now turn back to the remains of the Turin papyrus.

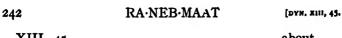
The exact numbering of the following kings depends on the extent of the preceding gap. Approximately the next may be numbered 40.

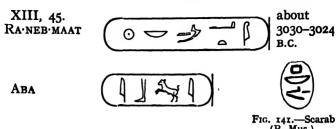
XIII, 40. RA·MER·KHEPER about 3060-3054 B.C.

An oblong weight of this king has the name on the top, with the legs of the *kheper* deeply notched. It is of glazed schist, and weighs 20 of the gold standard. (U.C. Coll.)

XIII, 41. Ends in KA. 42-3 lost.

XIII, 44, end . . . MESU

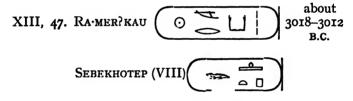




(P. Mus.).

The restoration of the name with neb seems generally accepted, though there is no trace of it left on the papyrus. There is a steatite lion with the throne name (P.S.C. 13, 41), and a scarab (P. Sc. 338) in Paris. Possibly this and the previous king are together on a scarab (W.S.B. i, 219).

XIII, 46. RA . . . UBEN. Only on papyrus.



Of this king there is a seated porphyry statue at Karnak, naming his sons Beba and Sebekhetep (M.K. viii, 1), and a scarab (B.M., H.C.S. 2577).

XIII, 48. RA-MAOT about 3012 SEBEK-HETEP (IX)

Fig. 142.—Scarab

A trial piece has the throne name well cut (Rec. xxxvi, 37). There are several scarabs with the two names together (G.Sc.; H. Coll.), and three with only the throne name (U.C.; H.C.S. 146 = P.Sc. 257; Mac. Coll. N.Sc. x, 23).

Two names at least are lost at the foot of the column.

XIII, 51. RA·NEHESI

about 2994-2988 B.C.



Fig. 143.—Scarab (Brent Coll.).

This king heads a column in the Turin papyrus. A statue found at Tell Moqdam bears erased cartouches, one of which has traces of signs which have been read Salatis, or Khyan, or lastly Nehesi (M.D. 63; G.L.R. II, 55; N.A. iv, B2). One scarab is known of this king (P.S.C. 13, 53).

"The king's eldest son Nehesi," may be a son of this king, or the same man at an earlier period. An obelisk of his was found at Tanis, naming him beloved of Set lord of Roahtu (P.T.I., iii, 19). There are five scarabs of the same person, mostly of very rude work (2 U.C. Coll.; F.S. 70; W.S.B. 278; Brent).

XIII, 52. Ra·kho·tai

about 2988-2982 B.C.

None of the previous readings, sma, kher, or eneda agree to the sign, which seems to be ta.

XIII, 53. RA-NEB-FAU

about 2982-2976 B.C.

Reigned 1 year, 5 months, 15 days.

As a fresh formula of kingship comes after the next name it is supposed that this no. 53 ends the XIIIth dynasty. The tabular list will give the meagre names that are preserved of the XIVth dynasty. Here we shall only notice those of whom there are contemporary remains. The numbers placed here are only approximate, following the uncertain order of the Lepsius and Wilkinson publications of the papyrus.

# XIV A. RA·SE·UZO·EN MENTUHETEP VII

A block of this king was found at Deir cl Bahri (N.E.I. xii, i); for the reading see B.P.H. 269.

XIV B. RA-SE-HAH-EN

SENB-MA-IU

A block of this king was also found at Deir el Bahri (N.E. II, x, c); and the name occurs at El Kab (S.B.A. xv, 494). A wand with the throne name was found in the coffin of Nub-her-crdu at Deir el Bahri (L.S.A. p. 150 note).

XIV C. RASE-UAZ-EN.

A dagger with this name was found at Diospolis Parva (P.D.P. xxxii, 17). Scarabs are common (P.S.C. 14, 69 (five); H.C.S. 210; Faras, A.A.L. 1921, xviii, 2; Ginari, A.S.N. II, 42, 38; Koptos, P. Kop. xv, 57; P. Mus., P. Sc. 333; Pal. 1006). These three kings, A, B, C, appear to be of the same fashion of name as 67.

XIV, 67. RA-SEKHEPER-EN

about 2895-2892 B.C.

This may be named on a scarab, which might otherwise read ta instead of en. (W.S.B. 277.)

XIV, 73. RA·NEFER·AB

about 2881-2878.

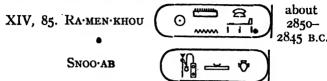
A scarab of this king is at Turin, see Fig. 144, and another in U.C. (P.S.C. 14, 76). Related to this is a Hor

nub name Men nefer ab which is subsequent to Sebekhetep II, perhaps belonging to this king. (A.S. v. 133.) This cartouche is reported to have been copied on a stone in the mosque at Beni Ali (near Manfalut?) by Gliddon (MS. note by Dr. Birch); the ka name, though incompletely copied (T. Mus.). not the name of Psamthek II.

XIV, 84. RA·SENEFER·AB SENUSERT (IV) K

about 2853-2850 B.C.

The last sign is lost on the papyrus, but it is probably the name above, as found on a statue of coarse red granite at Karnak, apparently later in style than others of this age (L.S.K. 42026). A fragment of a stele was also found at Karnak (Rec. xxx, 15).



This king is shown adoring Min on a well-cut stele from Abydos of Khenti-khati-hetep (M.A. ii, 27). Though the last sign of the throne name is lost from the papyrus, it seems probable that this is the place of the king. work is stated to resemble that of the next king.



A stele of Ameny senb bearing these two cartouches of one king is in the Louvre, recording the repairs of the temple of Senusert I at Abydos (C.E.

iii, 2, 203; S.I. II, 24; Pr. M. ix:

B.A.R. 242-4) (Fig. 145).

Two small scarabs of Khenzer are known (P.S.C. xix, base). A scarab is also known of the chief huntsman of Khenzer, named Oă·kho, "big and increasing," a child-name. (H.C.S. Fig. 145.—Cartouches 239.) A scarab seems to imply a second



Khenzer (F.S. 65), with the throne name User ka-ra. Compare with this Ukinzir, Gr. Khinzaros, king of Babylon, 731-728 B.C. (Ms. P.E. 637).

Some notice should be taken of the list of kings carved by Tehutmes III at Karnak. This was surreptitiously removed by Prisse, with great damage, and is now built up in dark position in the Bibliotheque Nationale at Paris, where it can scarcely be seen. It was published in Prisse Monuments, pl. I, and Lepsius' Auswahl, taf. I.

#### 246 THIRTEENTH AND FOURTEENTH DYNASTIES

In the parts of known history the order is erratic, and only connected in short groups; there is, then, not much reason to trust it where we cannot check it. In the XIIIth and XIVth dynasties there are twenty-three names and eight destroyed, so that the sequence is obscured still more. There is, however, a section of twelve names which may be consecutive, as follows:—

### XIII 6 Ra-sconkh-ab.

- 15 Ra·sckhem-khu·taui.
- F Ra-sckhem-snefer-taui of the southern line might be placed between 16 to 19, next to Ra-sekhemseshed-taui.
- 21 Ra·kho·seshcsh.
- 23 Ra·kho·nefer.
- Y Ra·kho·ka, might be in the southern line opposite 24 Ra·men·uaz.
- 25 Ra·kho·onkh.
  - 26 Ra·kho·hetep.
- (84) Ra snefer . . . , and (1 lost).
- (102) Ra sessuser taui might come in the gap of names lost between 33 and 40.
  - 47 Ra·mer·kau.
  - T Ra-mer-sekhem might come between 48 and 51. (1 lost).

As five out of these twelve names are without proof of place, and as their arrangement is entirely an open question, it has not seemed desirable to regulate their position on such uncertain grounds. Future discovery may confirm the sequence suggested above.

#### CHAPTER X

#### THE HYKSOS

#### FIFTEENTH AND SIXTEENTH DYNASTIES

BEFORE entering on the details of the names and reigns, it will be well to review the whole period from the XIIIth to the XVIIth dynasties, and so to see what is the general scheme of the evidence that we have.

For this the remains of Manetho are our only guide for the duration of the period. And we will first review them briefly in their most reliable forms, the text of Josephus, and the tables of Africanus and Eusebius.

|          | Africanus. |     |          | Eusebius. |       | Josephus.                                      |  |  |  |
|----------|------------|-----|----------|-----------|-------|--|--|--|--|
| Dynasty. |            |     | Dynasty. | Kings.    | Years |  |  |  |  |
| XIII.    | 60         | 453 | XIII.    | 60        | 453   |  |  |  |  |
|          | or         | 153 |          |           |       |  |  |  |  |
| XIV.     | 76         | 184 | XIV.     | 76        | 484   | (after confusion, at length they made a king). |  |  |  |
| XV.      | 6          | 284 | XV.      | x         | 250   | Hyksos, 6 kings, 260                           |  |  |  |
|          | (Hyksos)   |     |          | (Theban)  | •     | years.   |  |  |  |
| XVI.     | 32         | 518 | XVI.     | ` 5 ´     | 190   | (this people and their                         |  |  |  |
| (        | Shepherds  | s)  |          | (Theban)  |       | descendants in all                             |  |  |  |
|          |            |     |          | •         |       | 51r years).                                    |  |  |  |
| XVII.    | 43         | 151 | XVII.    | 4         | 103   |  |  |  |  |
|          |            |     |          | (Hyksos)  |       |  |  |  |  |

Setting aside for the present the details of the reigns of the separate Hyksos kings, such are the materials for unravelling this period.

The Turin papyrus gives in many cases the length of the reigns, and the average of eleven reigns remianing is  $6\frac{1}{2}$  years each in the period of the first sixty kings, which is presumably the XIIIth dynasty. This points

to about 390 years for the whole sixty kings, and agrees therefore with the 453 years far better than with the reading 153 years. In fact, deducting the 71 years of eleven kings from 153 years, there would only be left 82 years for forty-nine kings, which would be certainly unlikely. We may then adopt the reading 453 years as far the more probable.

The next question is, were the Hyksos contemporary with the XIIIth and XIVth dynasties? So far as the XIIIth, the distribution of the monuments of the first sixty kings of the Turin papyrus seems to show that the Egyptians held all Egypt. The fifteenth king is found at Semneh and at Bubastis, the twenty-third at Atfich and Lisht, and the fifty-first is Ra-nchesi, who is believed to be related to the king's son Nehesi found at Tanis, and the king Nehesi found at Tell Mokdam. We cannot then suppose the Hyksos to have been contemporary with the 453 years of the XIIIth dynasty. Probably the limit of the XIIIth dynasty is at the mark of a new section beginning at No. 54 in T.P., as two or three kings may have been omitted in this numbering. The XIVth dynasty has such short reigns that it would be unreasonable to shorten the total of 184 years.

After a period of confusion there arose the line of six great Hyksos kings, who are stated by Josephus to have reigned 260 years; Africanus has a total of 284, but his numbers seem confused by repetition. The XVIth dynasty is stated to consist of 32 kings; as we have the names of over twenty preserved, it seems that there is no great error. They are assigned 518 years by Africanus, but only 190 by Eusebius, who had a tendency to cut numbers for the sake of Biblical chronology. Lastly the XVIIth dynasty is stated at 151 years.

The Sothis datings in the XIIth and XVIIIth dynasties result in allowing for the XIIIth to XVIIth dynasties inclusive a total of 1779 years, allowing for the Mesore year. This would agree with the figures recorded as

follows :--

| XIIIth dynasty | 453  | years                                   | 3366-2913 | B.C. |
|----------------|------|---|-----------|------|
| XIVth ,,       | 184  | • | 2913-2729 | B.C. |
| Interval ?     | 213  | ,,                                      | 2729-2546 | B.C. |
| XVth dynasty   | 260  | ,,                                      | 2516-2256 | B.C. |
| XVIth ,,       | 518  | **                                      | 2256-1738 | B.C. |
| XVIIth ,,      | 151  | ,,                                      | 1738-1587 | B.C. |
|                |      |   | •         |      |
| Total          | 1779 | **                                      |           |      |

Thus the interval of confusion should be taken as about 213 years, granting that the change from Mesore to Thoth as the first month took place in this period. If not so, then the interval of confusion would be 93 years.

The only evidence that we have for the order of the various names of Hyksos date is the series of changes in the style of the scarab. The weak point of that is the variety of local styles; but as we can see a continuous connexion in the types (P.H.S. vi), and they were probably made in the Hyksos region of the Delta, the order is of some value. The title "prince" of the deserts" is the earliest, Nos. 1-3; scrolls at sides linked top and base, and in various stages of separation, 2-12; cartouches with scattered signs at sides, 3-15; lines at sides with signs beyond, 3-9; various debasements of these, 10-22.

#### XV DYNASTY.

The list of kings varies, and is probably best given by Josephus.

| Josephus. |   |   |   |   |   | YEA  | LRS. |   |   |   |   |   | Africanus |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------|------|---|---|---|---|---|-----------|
| Salatis.  |   |   |   |   |   | 13   | 19   |   |   |   |   |   | . Salatis |
| Beon .    |   |   |   |   |   |      | 44   |   | • |   |   |   | Beon      |
| Apakhnas  |   |   |   |   |   |      | 61   | • | • | • | • |   | . Pakhnan |
| Apefis .  |   |   |   |   |   |      | 1    |   |   |   |   |   |           |
| Ionias .  |   |   |   |   |   |      |      |   |   |   |   | • |           |
| Assis .   | • | • | • | • | • | 49•2 |      |   |   |   |   |   | . Arkhles |
|           |   |   |   |   |   |      | 101  |   |   |   |   |   | . Aphobis |

There is not much contact between these names and those found on monuments. The two first cannot be identified, but the names of Ont-her and Semqen apparently come at the beginning. Mer user ra Yopeqher seems to be next, possibly transformed as Apakhnas. Apofis is clearly Apepy I. Ionias or Staan has been reasonably identified with Khyan, Ciaan, Ctaan. Assis may be

derived from Shesha. Aphobis has been shifted three places down in Africanus. We shall now deal with the actual remains.

XV, 1? ONT HER, ONTA

2516-2497 ! B.C.

These two names may be the same, as both are "princes of the deserts." The first form is on a scarab from Bubastis (F.S. 180), the second form (P.S.C. 15, 1) has the epithet "the terror" before the name, which suggests that he was the conqueror. The latter form may perhaps be Onata, No. 96 of the Turin papyrus, but this leaves too many kings after it to agree with the Hyksos period.

XV. 2. SEMOEN

2407-2453? B.C.

On a scarab from Yehudiyeh this ruler is also "prince of the deserts" (F.S. 179).

XV, 3. RA·MER·USER YPEOHER

2453-2416? B.C.

This name is on two scarabs (B.M., H.C.S. 284-5). A variant Yopeqher is on four scarabs (N.Y., Fig. 146; F.S. 181; C. Mus., N.C.S. 36028;

P.D.P. xli, 12). Another form, Yoqebher, is at Paris (P. Sc. 351). Ybeqorhu is with the throne name Mer·user·ra (G. Coll., Fig. 147). Three with Ra names are in N. Sc.

xxii, 28-30. This has been confused with a later king Fig. 146.— Scarab (N.Y.). Ykebor, which is written with

k and not q, and has designs of a much later style. There have been various pro-Fig. 147.—Scarab posals to read this as Jacob-el, referring to of Ramer-user, a supposed Semitic god.



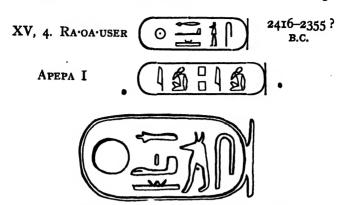


Fig. 148.—Cartouche of Apepe I, Gebeleyn (C. Mus.).

Bubastis, Inscription (N.B. xxxv, c).
Fayum, Palette (Berl. 7798).
Kahun, Stamp (P.K. xii, 16).
Thebes, Vase (J.E.A. 1916, xxi, 1).
Gebeleyn, Inscription (C. Mus.; Rec. xiv, 26).
Diorite mortar, bit (C. Mus.; G.L.R. ii, 140).
Papyrus, mathematical (B. Mus.).
Scarabs (P.S.C. 15, 5, 1 to 19; P. Sc. 721-727; H.C.S. 295-300; Yehudiyeh, P.H.I. ix, 144; Ghurob, En. G. xl, 4; Koptos, P. Kop. xxiv, 8; F.S. 174-5; N. Sc. i, 1; xxiii, 31-5; xxiv, 35).

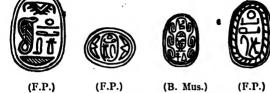
The inscription at Bubastis with the name Apepa is upon red granite, and therefore was probably due to the first Apepa, one of the six great kings, who ruled the whole of Egypt. It records how Apepa had erected "many columns and a gate of brass to this god" (N.B. xxii A, xxxv C).

A wooden stamp found at Kahun (P.K. xii, 16) may belong to the king, or to a private person (F.P. Coll.). The vase at Thebes was in the tomb of Amenhetep I.

A lintel found at Gebeleyn (Fig. 148) bears the name of "the living good god, Ra·oa·user," twice repeated (Rec. xiv, 26; C. Mus.). This is of great value as showing, what Manetho states, that both Upper and Lower Egypt were reduced by the great Hyksos kings.

Of small objects, there is the mathematical papyrus

(B. Mus.) written in the thirty-third year of the reign of this king (A.Z. xiii, 40; S.B.A. xiv, 29; R.M.P.). Also two palettes at Berlin, with both names of the king



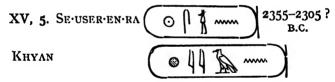
(F.P.) (B. Mus.) (F. Fig. 149 - Scarabs of Apepa I.



(S.B.A. iii, 97). Several scarabs (Fig. 149) with the throne name are known, some of them very rude and blundered (B. Mus. 3; P. Mus. 2; Leyden; F.P. Coll. 19).

Rosette backs belong to this period (see N. Sc. xxiv,

34, 36; H.C.S. 299; P.S.C. 14, AY).



Statue, Bubastis (N.B. xii, xxxv A).

Block, Gebeleyn (Rec. xvi 42).

Gebeleyn, Torus roll (C. Mus. 30392).

Knossos, alabaster lid (E.K. i, 419).

Scarabs, "prince of deserts" (P.S.C. 15, 3; N.Y.; F.S. 178);

others F.S. 176-7; H. Cat. 188; N.C.S. 36027; H.C.S.

289, 290; N.Y. = N. Sc. xxii, 21-5; Timmins, N. Sc.

xliv, 6; P.H.I, ix, 124; W.S.B. i, 222; Spicer; A.R.

1905-6, 29).

Cylinders, Athens, Lanzone.

Gold ring, Leyden.

Lion, Baghdad (B. Mus; B.G.C. 225-6; B.G.S. 340).

The Hyksos civilization which had grown under the earlier kings, and wielded all Egypt under Apepa, seems to have reached its fullest expansion under Khyan. His Horus name, "embracing territories," states his claims; and the spread of his remains from Crete to Baghdad shows at least his trade if not his dominion.

While he still used the title "prince of the deserts," he more usually adopted the neter nefer and să ra titles of

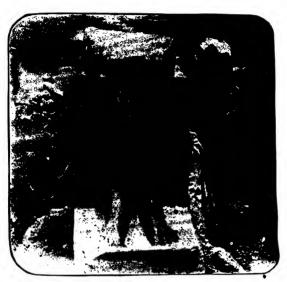
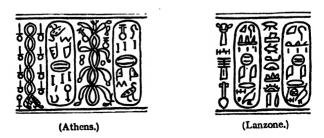


Fig. 150,-Base of statue of Khyan, Bubastis (G. Mus.).

Egyptian royalty. On the Athens cylinder there is a confusion of the two classes of title. The Cretan jar lid has both his names in one cartouche.



The number of scarabs at this period shows the adoption of Egyptian custom; there are more of Apepa than of



(N.Y. Coll.)







(F.P. Coll.) (Spicer Coll.)



(Fraser.)



(Album de Bulag.)

Fig. 151.—Scarabs of Khyan.

Merneptah, as Khyan's are about as common as those of Tehutmes II

XV. 6. SHESHA

2305-2256? B.C.







Fig. 152.—Scarabs of Shesha.

It is uncertain if this king can be identified with Assis of Manetho; the style of his scarabs would suggest a rather later date. Nor is it certain whether the reading is Shesha or Pepa. The latter is favoured by the reading of the best work (P.S.C. 16, C. 1). The name being between two lines is usually a late type, yet it must be a local form as it occurs as early as Ontha. His title is nearly always să ra, but rarely neter nefer. They are published in P.S.C. 16, C. 1–16; H.C.S. 262–275; C. Mus., N.C.S. 36036–9; N.S.C. xxi, 9–18, xliii, 17, 18; Ghurob, En. G. xl, 5; Rifeh, P.G.R. xiii E, 4; W.S.B. i, 14, 212; Abydos. M.A.A. liii; N. Sc. xliii, 17, 18.

At this point we may look at the literary record of the invasion, about the only piece of Manetho's history which has come down to us in full, thanks to Josephus.

"We had formerly a king whose name was Timaios. In his time it came to pass, I know not how, that God was displeased with us; and there came up from the East in a strange manner men of an ignoble race, who had the confidence to invade our country, and easily subdued it by their power without a battle. And when they had our rulers in their hands, they burnt our cities, and demolished the temples of the gods, and inflicted every kind of barbarity upon the inhabitants, slaying some, and reducing the wives and children of others to a state of slayery.

"At length they made one of themselves king, whose name was Salatis: he lived at Memphis, and rendered both the upper and lower regions of Egypt tributary, and stationed garrisons in places which were best adapted for that purpose. But he directed his attention principally to the security of the eastern frontier; for he regarded with suspicion the increasing power of the Assyrians, who he foresaw would one day undertake an invasion of the kingdom. And observing in the Saite nome, upon the east of the Bubastite channel, a city which from some ancient theological reference was called Avaris; and finding it admirably adapted to his purpose, he rebuilt it, and strongly fortified it with walls, and garrisoned it with a force of 250,000 men completely armed. To this city Salatis repaired in summer, to collect his tribute and pay his troops, and to exercise his soldiers in order to strike terror into foreigners.

"And Salatis died after a reign of nineteen years; after him reigned another king who was called Beon forty-four years; and he was succeeded by Apakhnas, who reigned thirty-six years and seven months; after him reigned Apophis sixty-one years, and Ianias fifty years and one month. After all these reigned Assis forty-nine years and two months. These six were the first rulers amongst them, and during the whole period of their dynasty they made war upon the Egyptians with the hope of exter-

minating the whole race.

"All this nation was styled Hyksōs, that is, Shepherd Kings; for the first syllable Hyk in the sacred dialect denotes a king, and sōs signifies a shepherd, but this only according to the vulgar tongue; and of these is compounded, the term Hyksōs. Some say they were Arabians. This people who were thus denominated Shepherd Kings, and their descendants, retained posses-

sion of Egypt during the period of five hundred and eleven years.

"And after these things he relates that the kings of Thebais, and of the other provinces of Egypt, made an insurrection against the Shepherds, and that a long and mighty was was carried on between them, till the Shepherds were overcome by a king whose name was Misfragmouthōsis, and they were by him driven out of the other parts of Egypt, and hemmed up in a place containing about ten thousand acres which was called Avaris. All this tract (says Manetho) the Shepherds surrounded with a vast and strong wall, that they might retain all their property and their prey within hold of their strength.

"And Thummosis, the son of Misfragmouthosis, endeavoured to force them by a siege, and beleaguered the place with a body of four hundred and eighty thousand men; but at the moment when he despaired of reducing them by a siege, they agreed to a capitulation, that they would leave Egypt, and should be permitted to go out without molestation, wheresoever they pleased. And according to this stipulation, they departed from Egypt, with all their families and effects, in number not less than two hundred and forty thousand, and bent their way through the desert towards Syria. But as they stood in fear of the Assyrians, who then had dominion over Asia, they built a city in that country which is now called Judæa, of sufficient size to contain this multitude of men, and named it Hierosolyma."

For the study of a Hyksos fort at Tell el Yehudiyeh, see P.H.I. The construction of an immense earth fort, with plastered glacis, was altered by building a great stone wall around it. There seems fair reason for accepting this as the fortress of Avaris. That city is described as east of the Bubastite channel, that is, between Mcmphis and the Wady Tumilat, and not near the coast where it has been sought. The purpose of it was to cover the approach to the capital. The mention of the Saite nome may result from a damaged reading of the (Heliop)olite nome.

Another great earth fort with glacis was around the temple of Heliopolis (P.H.A.). Such forts were adapted to archery defence.

The great Hyksos kings soon took up the civilization of Egypt; Apepa I rebuilt the temple of Bubastis with columns and copper gates, and the mathematical papyrus was written in his reign. This reminds us of Ulugh Beg, who, only fifty years after the conquests of his ancestor Timur, became the greatest astronomer of his ago. Khyan's work in statuary, and the engraving of his jar lid, is equal to the best carving of other times. Some of the scarabs of the great Hyksos are better in work than anything since the beginning of the XIIth dynasty. Yet all this was but a thin stream, around it was decadence and barbarism, with almost illegible productions.

In the XVIth dynasty there is not much indication of

the order of reigns.

# XVI, A. MAO·AB·RA



The style of the scarabs is most like that of Shesha, and they are, next to his, the commonest of all of this age. They almost always have the title neter nefer, as Shesha always have the title neter neter, as Suesha Fig. 153.—almost always has să ra. Possibly they Scarab (G. Mus.)

are the two names of one king.

(U.C., P.S.C. 16 B; B.M., H.C.S. 241-261; C. Mus., N.S.C. 36030-5; P. Mus., P. Sc. 115, 118; T. Mus., P. Sc. 112; N.Y., N. Sc. xxi, 5; Mac. Coll., N. Sc. xxi, 4, 6; G. Coll., P. Sc. 110; N. Sc. xxi, 8; W.S.B. i, 7; Chester, P. Sc. 114; Evans, N. Sc. xxi, 2.)

#### XVI. B. Nefer·ka·ra

This type is symmetric, between falcons, under Syrian influence (P.S.C. 14, AR, AS).

#### XVI. C. Nub·ka·ra

A cowroid, with cross pattern on the back, and diagonal petals, has this name in a border of interlaced 8 pattern (N.Y., N. Sc. xxiv, 37).

#### XVI. D. KHEPER·RA

Various forms of this name are found (P.S.C. II A; 14, AY, cowroid with six-leaved rosette on back, see last: G.L.R. ii, 100, 116-7; L.K. 806; T. Mus., P. Sc. 501-2; B.M., P. Sc. 504).

# XVI. E. KA·RA

Cowroids (one with symmetric uraei and hawks like Apepa I) are found (P.S.C. 14, AM, AN) and with four double scrolls around (Brussels).

# XVI, F. OA·NEB·RA

Three scarabs are known (P. Sc. 16, A, 1-3).

#### XVI, G. UAZED

A few scarabs are found of both scroll and bar pattern (C. Mus., P. Sc. 349; B. M., H.C.S. 240; G., P. Sc. 308).



Fig. 154.—Scarab (G. Coll.).

#### XVI. H. SEKTI

Scarabs are found with scrolls, or with signs at the sides (B.M., H.C.S. 282; N.Y., N. Sc. xxiii, 12; Pier, N. Sc. xliv, 8).

# XVI, J. SMA·KA·RA

Scarabs are of thick coarse work (P.S.C. 14, Q, R).

### XVI, K. NEFERUI·UAH·RA

The cartouche, with signs onkh and zed at the signs, is on one scarab (F.C., N. Sc. xliii, 6).

#### XVI, L. KHO·USER·RA

On these scarabs the signs at the side sink to mere inversions (C. Mus., N.C.S. 36041-2; P.S.C. 16, E, 1-2; Ash. M., N. Sc. xxi, 29; G., P.Sc. 127-8; Pier, N. Sc. xliv, 7).



Fig. 155.—Scarab (G. Coll.):

#### XVI, M. SE-KHO-NE-RA

Here the side pattern becomes mere groups of lines (B.M., H.C.S. 276-281; P.S.C. 16, F, 1-8; P. Mus., P. Sc. 143-5; T. Mus., P. Sc. 139; H, P. Sc. 137; Mac. Coll., N. Sc. xxi, 21; G, P. Sc. 133, 136). Two cartouches with this name were at Deir el Bahri (N.E.



Fig. 156.—Scarab (F.P. Coll.).

I, xii, J; II, x, E), but may belong to an earlier king of this name.

# XVI, N. OA·QER(MU)

We now reach a class of names with three water lines after the signs, reading mu, usually the determinative of a large body of water, or the sea. It seems reasonable to link this with the title of this dynasty, "Hellenic," that is of the Hanebu, "lords of the north" (see P.H.I. 70). It may imply that this dynasty were sea-kings, as conquerors or pirates. It is soon after Khyan that the complete wreck of the end of the Middle Minoan period took place. Such raids would be the type of the Arab, or Saracenic, raids on the Mediterranean in the Dark Ages.

### XVI, O. NEFER GER ? (MU)

A cartouche with side signs on one scarab (P.S.C. 16 D).

#### XVI, P. YKEBOR

One scarab of this spelling is known (P.S.C. 16, H, I). It is probably the full form otherwise found as

#### YKEB(MU)

These scarabs are of rude work and often blundered (P.S.C. 16, H, 2-5; Ash. M., N. Sc. xxii, 10; G, N. Sc. xxii, 9, 11; H, Davis, Bissing, N. Sc. xxii, 7; xliii, 21, 22).

### XVI, R. OA(MU)

This is the most usual of the scakings, "the great" (P.S.C. 16, L, 1-4; C. Mus., N.C.S. 36040; Berl. 15259; G. Evans, Mac. Coll., N. Sc. xxii, 17, 14, 18, 15).



Fig. 157.—Scarab (G. Coll.).



Fig. 158.—Scarab (G. Mus.).

## XVI, R. YKHO(MU)

One scarab is known (P.S.C. 16, K. 2). Probably the same as one reading R for Kho (G., G.L.R. ii, 98).

# XVI, S. YO(MU)

Three scarabs are known (F.S. 182; H.C.S. 288; Ash. M., N. Sc. xxii, 6).

# XVI, T. KHO-RA(MU)

There are very rude scarabs with this reading (P.S.C. 16, K, I; C. Mus., N.C.S. 36042).

### XVI, U. OA·HETEP·RA

This might perhaps be placed earlier in the series, but the side lines are very degraded (P.S.C. 16, J, 1, 2; B.M., H.C.S. 283; Berl. 8080, P. Sc. 131; Davis, N. Sc. xxii, 1; xliii, 20).



Fig. 159.—Scarab (F.P. Coll.).

# XVI, V. QUR

Two rude scarabs are known (G., N. Sc. xxi, 23, 24).

#### XVI. W. MĂOT·RA

This may be the reading of P.S.C. xvi, M. Perhaps a variant of

PE·MĂO·RA.

A scarab of earlier type (P.S.C. xiv, P).

#### XVI, X. NUBY'RA

The reading of the two signs after *nub* is not certain (B.M., H.C.S. 286).

# XVI, Y. NEB·UAH·ĂB

These are rude scarabs, like XVI, O, W, above (P.S.C. 16 G; B.M., N. Sc. xliii, 19).

Various scarabs of kings do not exactly group along with those stated above, but they apparently belong to the XVth-XVIth dynasties.

#### XVI, AA. NEFER'RA

It is doubtful if this is a king's name, as it never has a royal title prefixed (P.S.C. 14, S-AC; P. Sc. 483-499; and NEFERU-RA, P.S.C. 14, AD).

XVI, AB. Nefer·nub·ra

A large, boldly cut plaque at Oxford (P. Sc. 712).

XVI, AC. Nub·user·ra

Scarab, Blanchard (S.B.A. 1914, 38).

XVI, AD. KHO·SEBEK·RA

Cartouche with signs around (B.M., H.C.S. 209; P. Sc. 354).

XVI, AE. UAZ·UR·NEFERUI

Probably to be read in this order, if neferui is equal to ra. On the same cylinder is

XVI, AF. Ka·zed·uah·neferui Ka·onkh·er·nefer·kho

as names of a suzerain, the last not in a cartouche, but repeated twice with the figure holding the lotus (P.S.C. 14, BA).

XVI, AG. SEKHEM·RA

Name between lines, reu at sides (P.S.C. 140)

XVI, AH. AMEN·HAT·EM

This is with an illegible cartouche (M.A. II, 40, O), may be called Amenemhat VIII.

XVI. AJ. Neb·kheper·en·ra

A scarab from Abydos (M.A. II, 40 n).

XVI, AK. KHEPER·MES·RA

Source unknown, see L.K. 809.

XVI, AL. SNEFER·RA SNEFER·EN·RA

Small scarabs (P. Sc. 340; R.M. xxvi, 8).

XVI, AM. NEKHT·KHOU·RA

A scarab published in D.E., V. p. 87, 52.

XVI, AN. HETEP·KHOU

A royal name in P. Mus. (G.L.R. ii, 116).

### XVI, AO. SA·RA, HETEP

Cartouches on rock at Shatt-er-rigal (P.S. 430).

#### XVI, AP. NEB'RUH

This king as shown offering to a Sebek hetep on a stele (C. Mus.).

There are some classes of scarabs which probably belong to the XVIth or XVIIth dynasties; in the latter time the entry of 43 kings shows that there were many ephemeral reigns. The *nub* series is of small, simple scarabs without titles.

#### XVII, A. NUB·UAZ·RA

One scarab (G., P.Sc. 733) on cylinder of Khepernub ra Antef (N. Sc. vii, 12).

#### XVII. B. PEH·NUB·RA

Two scarabs (P. Mus., P. Sc. 732; P.S.C. 17 F).

#### XVII, C. Nub·hetep·ra

Ten scarabs (P.S.C. 17 G.; G. Coll., P.Sc. 736-7; P. Mus., P.Sc. 738; F.S. 156-7; L.M.L. i, 28).

#### XVII, D. HER·NUB·HA

Cartouche on scarab (G. Coll., P. Sc. 735).

#### XVII, E. Nub·ha·ra'

One scarab is in B.M. (H.C.S. 2590).

#### XVII, F. Nub·ab·ra

One scarab is in B.M. (H.C.S. 2593), and one in Cairo (P. Sc. 746).

#### XVII, G. Nub·nefer·maot·ra

The variants of this suggest that it is a phrase rather than a name (P. Sc. 740-2).

# XVII, H. Nub·onkh·ra

This is a large, boldly cut scarab, not unlike that of Apepa III (P.S.C. 17, B),

### XVII, J. NUB-ZED-RA

The name is between two *mǎot* feathers, on a rather small scarab (W.S.B. 225).

### XVII, K. NUB·SESHESH·RA

A deeply cut, bold scarab with peacock blue glaze, of the style of Antef VIII (P.S.C. ii, B).

### XVII, L. SHEF-TAUI-NUB-RA

A large, well-cut scarab (P.S.C. 17 K).

#### XVII, M. SHEF·HETEP·RA

Scarab (see G.L.R. ii, 112).

#### XVII, N. NEB·SHEF·RA

Scarab at Vienna (G.L.R. ii, 112).

Other varied scarabs are-

#### XVII, O. MEN·HETEP·RA

Two scarabs are known (P.S.C. 17 J).

# XVII, P. Khu·uaz

A small scarab (P.S.C. 17 L).

# XVII, Q. Neb·ka·ra

A scarab is at Cairo (N.S.C. v, 37082) with a cartouche surrounded by signs, *nub* below; there is also a square plaque (U.C., P.S.C. 17 M).

Some names appear to belong to the Hyksos series of the XVIIth dynasty.

#### XVII, R. OA·NETER·RA

Four scarabs in B.M. with small variants (38772, 38774, 40739-40).

XVII. S. OA·SEH·RA



Perhaps of this same age is an obelisk at Tanis (Fig. 160), inscribed on all sides by a king RA·OA·SEH. Such a name is otherwise unknown; but agrees in type to the throne names of the Apepas (P.T. I. ii, 20).

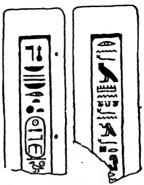
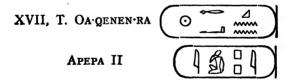


Fig. 160.—Obelisk of Ra-oa-seh, Tanis.



Tanis, Inscriptions (P.T.I. iii, 17 c).
Bubastis, Inscriptions (N.B. xxii A, xxxv B, C; B.G.S. 339)
Memphis? Altar (C. Mus.; M.D. 38).
Statue usurped (P. Mus.; W.G. 295).
Sphinx from Tanis (L.D. iii, 259 c).
Sallier papyrus.

The statues of Mer·meshau, at Tanis, have down the right shoulder of each a line of added inscription, small, and not very disfiguring. It reads: "Good God, Ra·aa·qenen, son of the Sun, Apepa, giving life, beloved of Set." The figure of Set was, however, honourably placed first in the inscription, but was carefully hammered out in

later times. Very probably the other lines of erased inscriptions on the right shoulders of the sphinxes at Tanis were also of this king. A sphinx at Ismailiyeh (from Tell Maskhuta) has a line of similar erasure on the shoulder, and the whole head has been recut, and the mat of hair on the shoulders and chest removed, by Ramessu II.

A block of granite from Bubastis (now in B.M.) has the name Apepa, and part of the Horus name, which identifies it with the king of the following altar. It records him making multitudes of columns and gates of copper for Bast; this implies a thorough reconstruction of the

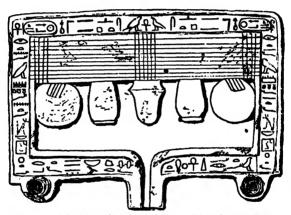


Fig. 161.—Black granite altar of Apepa II, Cairo (C. Mus.).

temple on a large scale. The attacks of the Hyksos invaders on the temples of Egypt had long ago passed, and their assimilation to the Egyptians had by this time converted them to be active restorers.

In Cairo a fine and perfect altar of black granite (Fig. 161) was found, dedicated to Set of Hauar, or Avaris. This points to that city being near Cairo—as at Tell Yehudiyeh—and not on the distant coast.

A statue in the Louvre has been read as of Apepa originally (W.G. 295), but usurped later by Amenhotep III. It does not seem at all certain that the list of thirty-six conquered Nubian races belonged to the first owner.

and it may be an addition put on by the usurper. That this king belongs to the XVIIth dynasty is indicated by his name, Aā qenen ra, being of the same type as that of Se qenen ra Ta-āā, with whom he is also associated in the tale of Apepa and Sequencera (Sall. Pap. 1). The view of history given in that account of the close of the Hyksos age belongs to the rise of the Theban power, which is dealt with in Vol. II, see p. 17.

There are other remains, only mentioning the name Apepa, which cannot be certainly attributed to the Ist, IInd, or IIIrd. These are a sistrum from Dendera, a wooden stamp from Kahun (U.C., P.I. xii, 16), a vase in the tomb of Amen-hetep I (J.E.A. 1916, xxi, 1), a scarab (F.C. 457), and a scarab of a king's son Apep, from Ginari in Nubia

(A.S.N. II, ii, 42, 44).

#### XVII, U. NEB·KHEPESH;RA APEP III

Saqqareh, dagger (A.S. vii, 115-20, pl. vii). Flint vase (B.M. 4498 B). Scarabs (P.S.C. 17 A).

The dagger has an electrum handle, with relief of a man fighting and the name of Neb-khepesh-ra, as well as the owner Nehmen; it was found on the mummy of a man named Oăbed, in a coffin published in L.S.A. 28,108. The names seem to be Semitic, see Nahamani a companion of Zerubbabel (Neh. vii. 7) and the usual 'Abd, short for servant of some god. Two scarabs are known (U.C.), one is of large bold work on a good green glaze. The fragment of a brown chert vase (in B.M.) is of very fine work.

Lastly we must record the later Antef kings, without being yet able to place them in any fixed position. At the close of the XIth dynasty the reasons have been stated for an earlier and for a later date, neither view being decisive.

#### ANTEF AA



This king is only known from his coffin, which is now in the Louvre (P.R. i, 85; A.Z. vii, 52) (Fig. 162); it is coarsely carved in wood, and painted with a pattern



Fig. 162.—Coffin of Antef V (P. Mus.).

representing wings covering the whole body. The adorning is in blue, red, and dull yellow, and is but rudely applied.



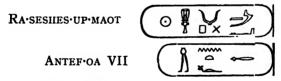
This king is only known from his coffin in the Louvre, which was found at Thebes (A.Z. vii, 52; P.R. i, 86). Having been plundered by natives, the site of it is not fixed, but it was almost certainly near the Antef tombs.

He appears to have died suddenly and early, for he was succeeded by his younger brother, another Antef, who



Fig. 163.—Coffin of Antef VI (P. Mus.).

made this coffin for him, as he records upon it. The coffin is on the same pattern as the rude coffin of Antef I, but it is well carved and gilt all over.



Pyramidion (B.M. 578). Coffin (B.M. 6652; A.Z. 1869, 53). Funeral box (P. Mus. 614).

The identity of this king with Antef III rests on a presumption from associated objects. The gilt coffin (Fig. 165) in the British Museum, we have already shown, belongs to Antef III; also in the British Museum is a small pyramid of Antef Ra·seshes·up·maāt. Then in the Louvre is his brother's coffin, probably from the same or an adjacent tomb; and also a funeral box for canopic jars from the tomb of Ra·seshes·up·maāt.

The tomb is mentioned in the Abbott papyrus concern-



Fig. 164.—Pyramidion of Antef VII (B. Mus.)

ing the inspection of roval " The tombs. monument ωf king Ra-seshesem·upa·ma, son of the sun, Antuf∙āa. It was found to have been pierced by the hands of the thieves at the spot where the tablet of the

monument is fixed. Examined on that day, it was found entire, the thieves not having been able to penetrate into it." So, as late as the end of the XXth dy-

nasty, some sixteen centuries after the burial, the king yet remained undisturbed.

The style of these coffins sufficiently rebuts Mariette's abuse of the work of the Antef kings, without further argument. The style is as good as that of Aahmes, and fully comparable with any remains of the Mentuhoteps.

A variant of the name—Anentuf—in pap. Abbott points to two scarabs with that form belonging to this reign (G. in P. Sc. 147; F.S. 22).



Fig. 165 .-- Coffin of Antef VII (B. Mus.).

Fig. 166.—Scarab

#### NUB·KHEPERU·RA



#### ANTEF VIII

Tomb and obelisks, Thebes (M.D. 50 a). Abydos, limestone columns (P. Ab. I, lvi). stele (P. Ab. II, xxxii).

relief (B.G.S. 342).

,, stele (or earlier?) (P. Ab. I, lvii).
Koptos temple (P. Kop. vi. vii).
,, decree (P. Kop. viii).

(F.P. Coll.).

Edfu pendant (S.B.A. 1902, 285).

Statuette (Lee Coll.).

Scarabs (B.M., H.C.S. 212-5; P.S.C. 11, 7, 1-7; P. Mus.,

P. Sc. 160-2; H. Coll., P. Sc. 159). Cylinder (B.M., H.C.S. 2644, N.Sc. vii, 12).

Panther's head, blue paste (B.M.).

Queen-Sebekemsaf (S.B.A. 1902, 285). Stele. C. Mus. (Rec. ix, 92).

We find at this point a greater fulness of royal titles appearing; the ka name and vulture and uracus name being different; besides the personal and throne names. The two small obclisks, III ft. high, bear all the names and titles; they stood in front of the tomb, but are now lying wrecked somewhere in the Nile near Qamuleh, and no attempt has been made to recover them.

The tomb was visited by the Ramesside inspectors, who record: "The monument of king Nub-kheper-ra, son of the sun, Antuf, was found to have been pierced by the hands of the thickes, who had made a hole of two and a half cubits in its surrounding wall, and a hole of one cubit in the great outer chamber of the sepulchre of the chief of the transport of offering, Auri of Pa-amen, which is in ruins. The royal tomb was in good condition, the thieves not having been able to penetrate into it."

At Abydos there was a considerable temple, of which octagonal columns and an architrave remained (P. Ab. i. 28). Beside a stele of the king and his keeper of the seals Aohnefer, there is another of Nekht the son of the hea Antef. a title which suggests a much earlier date, as all of this group were nesut.

At Koptos, Antef appears to have rebuilt the temple

after the disasters of the previous age. About forty slabs of his work were found turned face down to form the pavement of a later rebuilder. These slabs were mostly small, and all of them thin; they were not blocks thick enough to build a wall, and this shows that the temple was only of brick faced with stone. The subjects were of Antef offering to Min, Horus, and a goddess; and the work was some in relief, some intaglio.



Fig. 167.—Slab with head of Antef V, Koptos.

A long decree, dated in the third year of Antef, is inscribed on the side of a great doorway of Usertesen I at Koptos (now in G. Mus.); by the position it seems to have been recopied there, but the style of the cutting is like that of the Antef II stele. In any case, it is doubtless an exact copy of the royal decree, placed here where every person must see it, as being the title-deed of the prince of Koptos. It throws so much light on the administration of the Antefs, and the organization of the country, that we may well read it here. "The third year, month

Phamenoth, 25th day, of his majesty the king (Ra·nubu· kheper, sa ra, Antef) giving life like the sun for ever. Decree of the king to the chancellor, prince of Koptos Minementat, the king's son administrator of Koptos Qa nen, the chancellor Menkh Min, the scribe of the temple Nefer hetep ur, all the garrison of Koptos, and all the officials of the temple,—

"Behold ve this decree has been brought to you that ye may know that my majesty has sent the scribe and divine chancellor of Amen Amen să. and the semsu havt Amen-user, to make inquisition in the temple of Min:-

"Whereas the officials of the temple of my father Min came to my majesty to say that an evil thing is come to pass in this temple, even a harbouring of enemies by (blasted be his name) Teta, son of Minhetep:—

"Therefore let him be cast out upon the ground from the temple of my father Min, let him be driven from his office of the temple, to the son of his son, and the heir of his heir; may they be cast abroad upon the earth. let his bread and his sacred meat be seized, let his name not be remembered in this temple, as is done to one like him who has transgressed in the matter of an enemy of his god; let his writings in the temple of Min be destroyed, and in the government office on every roll likewise:

"And every king and every puissant ruler who shall forgive him, may he not receive the white crown, or support the red crown, or sit upon the throne of Horus the living; let not the two diadems grant him favours as beloved of him; and every administrator or prince who shall approach the Lord to forgive him, let his people, his possessions, and his lands be given to the endowment of my father Min of Koptos; also let not any man of his circle, of the relations of his father or of his mother, be raised to this office:--

"Also that this office shall be given to the chancellor, overseer in the palace, Min·em·hat, and let there be given to him its bread and its sacred meat, established unto him in writings in the temple of my father Min of Koptos, to the son of his son and the heir of his heir."

Here we have the complete formula of a royal commission for one of the greatest acts of administration, the degradation of one of the feudal princes on account of treason, and the establishment of a new ruling family in his place.

Some blocks previously removed from this temple were seen here by Harris long ago built into the bridge,

but they have now disappeared.

At Edfu a pendant was found of a king An antef (so written by this king) and a great royal wife, united to the crown, named Sebekemsaf. There is also a stele of one Mentu-hetep (S.B.A. 1887, 190), he was son of a princess heiress Sebekemsaf and a king's son Khenmes, who ruled the domain of Nubukhos. This would link the queen a generation before Nubukhos, but that may not be the same person as the consort of Sebekem-sauf III, as she is not called queen in naming the domain. It seems quite impossible to insert these Antef kings contemporary with the Sebekemsaf kings who held Abydos and Thebes. Probably the Nubu-khos a generation after this Antef had the earlier queen's name repeated.

A statuette shows the king as triumphing over Asiatics

and Negroes (Lee Coll.).

The scarabs are rather common in collections, thirteen being known. All of them are of a symmetrical type, mostly with two uraei, and the name between them. A cylinder seems to name this king, and in the same manner Uah·nub·ra, of whom there is a scarab, entered before as XVII A (P. Sc. 733). A panther's head of soft blue paste (B.M.) has mistakenly been quoted by some writers as glass.

Of the queen Sebekemsaf there is the pendant above quoted; a stele in Cairo (Rec. ix, 92), the stele of her family from Edfu (A.S. 1922), and the head rest of her chief accountant (B.M. 23068). Her tomb was already ruined by the time of queen Aoh hetep, by whom it was repaired (Rec. ix, 92).

The period of the XVIIth dynasty which is linked with the family of the XVIIIth dynasty is dealt with in the

second volume.

KINGS OF DYNASTIES O TO III

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